

APR 9 1945

Volume LX

MARCH, 1945

Number 3

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
STORER, M. E.—Bibliographical Observations on Foigny, Lahontan and Tyasot de Patot,	143
KURRELMAYER, W.—German Lexicography. Part IX,	157
LANCASTER, H. C.—The Château de Richelieu and Desmaretz's 'Visionnaires,'	167
RHODES, S. A.—Note on Gérard de Nerval's 'Octavie,'	172
SEEBER, E. D.—Diderot and Chief Logan's Speech ('Frontières de Virginie'),	176
LIVINGSTON, C. H.—Old French 'Herluin,'	178
BRADNER, LEICESTER.—Spenser's Connections with Hampshire,	180
MACK, MAYNARD.—A Manuscript of Pope's Imitation of the First Ode of the Fourth Book of Horace,	185
REVIEWS:—	
H. F. FLETCHER (ed.), John Milton's Complete Poetical Works, Vol. I. [Maurice Kelly.]	188
L. T. MORE, The Life and Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle. [A. M. Witherspoon.]	192
E. DE SELINCOURT (ed.), The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth. [R. D. Havens.]	195
HENRI PEYRE, Writers and Their Critics. [René Wellek.]	196
JESSIE LEMONT (tr.), Rainer Maria Rilke: Poems. [Ernest Feise.]	197
ELEANOR RUGGLES, Gerard Manley Hopkins—A Life. [Leo Kirschbaum.]	199
GLADYS I. WADE, Thomas Traherne; H. R. HUTCHESON (ed. and tr.), Lord Herbert of Cherbury's <i>De Religione Laici</i> ; BERGEN EVANS and G. R. MOHR, The Psychiatry of Robert Burton. [D. C. Allen.]	201
C. L. JOHNSON, Professor Longfellow of Harvard. [Lawrence Thompson.]	203
RAE BLANCHARD (ed.), Tracts and Pamphlets by Richard Steele. [A. D. McKillop.]	204
BRIEF MENTION: D. C. ALLEN (ed.), <i>The Owles Almanack</i> ,	206
CORRESPONDENCE: "Chrestiens de la Saincture"—A Friendly Rejoinder; Reply; Second Rejoinder; G. BONFANTE: "The Romance Desiderative ee,"	206

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS • BALTIMORE 18, MD.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A Monthly Publication with intermission from July to October (inclusive)

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The Subscription Price of the current annual volume is \$5.00 for the United States and Mexico and \$5.50 for other countries included in the Postal Union. Single issues, price seventy-five cents.

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Modern Language Notes

Volume LX

MARCH, 1945

Number 3

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS ON FOIGNY, LAHONTAN AND TYSSOT DE PATOT

GABRIEL DE FOIGNY

Thanks to the researches of Frédéric Lachèvre¹ among manuscript records of the various governing bodies of Geneva (*le Conseil, le Consistoire, la Vénérable Compagnie*), we know that the rarisisme *Terre australe connue* of Gabriel de Foigny,² purported to have been published at Vannes in 1676, really appeared in Geneva in February or March of that year, and that, if we are to believe the testimony of the editor, La Pierre, the edition was composed of 500 copies. We deduce that the work had had very little diffusion, since it had been off the press ten months before the *Vénérable Compagnie* demanded an investigation of it, and since the Geneva professors of theology who were intrusted with the care of examining it had such difficulty in obtaining copies that their report was delayed three weeks. Furthermore, Bayle knew nothing of it before its second edition, sixteen years later,³ although he was

¹ *Les Successeurs de Cyrano de Bergerac*, Paris, Champion, 1922, pp. 1-60.

² *la Terre australe connue: c'est à dire la description de ce pays inconnu jusqu'ici, de ses mœurs & de ses coutumes*. Par Mr Sadevr. Avec les aventures qui le conduisirent en ce Continent, & les particularitez du séjour qu'il y fit durant trente-cinq ans & plus, & de son retour. Reduites & mises en lumiere par les soins et la conduite de G. de F. A Vannes, par Iaques Vernevil ruë S. Gilles 1676.

³ *les Aventures de Jaques Sadeur dans la découverte et le voiage de la Terre Australe*. Contenant les Coutumes et les Mœurs des Australiens, leur Religion, leurs Exercices, leurs Etudes, leurs Guerres, les Animaux particuliers à ce Païs, et toutes les Raretez curieuses qui s'y trouvent. A Paris, Chez Claude Barbin . . . M. DC. XCII (1692). Avec Privilège du Roy.

an avid reader of such libertine works, to which the doors of Holland were hospitably wide open.⁴

One wonders what became of the 500 copies of the *Terre australe connue*. In spite of the insistence of the *Vénérable Compagnie*, who felt tricked in the matter, the *Conseil* did not officially confiscate the work, and Foigny continued to distribute copies gratis to foreigners, probably Germans, to whom he was giving French lessons. Perhaps there are autograph copies today in some private libraries of Europe. However, it seems apparent that the *Vénérable Compagnie*, by foul means or fair, did succeed in suppressing the edition, except for the precious gift copies, the number of which may well have been very limited. Through its energetic attacks, one other work of Foigny has completely disappeared, and we suspect that it is responsible for the disappearance of another, the actual publication of which is abundantly proved by the *Registres*. The first of these is *les Pseaumes de Marot et de Bèze*, Charenton [Genève], 1674, edition with an *argument* and a prayer accompanying each psalm, whereby the pious author thought to gain favor with members of his new faith, but which smelled of Catholicism "à cent lieues à la ronde" and brought on him the hot wrath of the *Vénérable Compagnie*. Lachèvre presumed that Foigny and his publisher had chosen to print Charenton on the title-page because they expected the edition to be distributed largely in France, but their purpose was, in fact, to give the edition an air of authenticity. There were at least twelve proper editions of *les Pseaumes de David, mis en rime françoise par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze* at Charenton between 1638 and 1665. The second, *le Grand Garant*, an almanac appearing in 1674 and for some time following (it was still published in 1677), was subject to the disapproval of the *Compagnie* because of certain "prédications hardies." No trace of either work is to be found today.

In 1922 Frédéric Lachèvre supposed that only one copy of *la Terre australe connue* was in existence. It is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, having been acquired in 1762 from the Falconet Library.⁵

⁴ See his *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, art. *Sadeur*.

⁵ The noted physician, Camille Falconet, had gathered together one of the rarest collections of books in Europe, to which was added by legacy from Mlle de Bouillon the library of her father. (Falconet had been attached to the Bouillon family as its physician.) He bequeathed to the *Bibliothèque*

He was ignorant of the fact that Voltaire owned a copy, which is now (or was) in his library at Leningrad, and his watchful eye overlooked two copies which are in the British Museum, the first one acquired before 1887 and the second one between 1887 and 1895, one listed under *Foigny*, and the second, along with the first, under *Nicolas Sadeur*. Other works are given under *Jacques Sadeur*; perhaps *N(icolas)* came into being because the ingenious *Foigny* had him spring from *N(îmes)*.⁶ It is surprising that one of these rarissime books is to be found in this country. It is in the library of the University of Michigan. Acquired in 1924, it forms part of the Collection of Imaginary Voyages given by the late Dr. Lucius L. Hubbard to that University.^{6a}

Harvard University possesses two copies of the 1692 edition. One of them, from the library of the late comte de Riant, member of the Institute, historian of the Latin East, which was purchased by Harvard University in 1900, contains this manuscript note on the fly-leaf: "Ce mesme liure est imprimé a Vannes par Jaques Verneuil en 1676 avec beaucoup d'autres particularites qu'on a retranché [*sic*] dans cette edition de Barbin . . . le chapitre vi est vne fois plus ample dans l'edition de Vannes." There are also twelve marginal notes, one (p. 142) a quotation from Ecclesiastes, another (p. 210) an indication of the omission of twelve "scientific" discoveries of the Australians (in Chap. VIII), the others short

du roi those of his books, about 11,000, which this library did not own. See Firmin Didot frères, *Nouvelle bibliographie générale*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1855-1866, t. 17, p. 39; also Henry Marcel, etc., *la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, Librairie Renouard, 1907, I, 19-20.

* Under *Foigny*, appears a title not found among bibliographers: *Expres-sion des regrets causez par la mort de son Altesse . . . le Prince George [Landgrave de Hesse Cassel]*, Genève, 1675, in-4. This member of a distinguished German family was probably one of the benefactors whom *Foigny* instructed in French to gain a meager livelihood for his growing family. Under the circumstances, his regrets would indeed be sincere! The Geneva records show that *Foigny* had several rather influential German sponsors. To one of them, the Duke of Wirtemberg, he dedicated the first edition of *la Facilité et l'élégance des langues latine et française . . .*, Genève, 1673.

^{6a} Manuscript notes give evidence of four previous owners: Ghilibert (?) Conboy d'Annessy (Annecy), with the date 1700; a Jesuit priest!; Grandis Chavène, with the notation, *achevé de lire le 19 mai 1770*; and Dr. Hermann Ullrich, from whose collection Dr. Hubbard obtained other books. There are three penciled price marks: 40 f., 45 f., 40 (marks).

excerpts from portions omitted in this edition. The spelling, more antiquated than in the "Vannes" edition, would indicate that these notes were written toward the beginning of the XVIIIth century, and certainly their author had access to one of those rare 1676 volumes. The binding was done at a much later date, when some of the letters of the manuscript notes were cut off.

Even with this slight enlargement of the distribution of *la Terre australe connue*, Lachèvre made a signal contribution to the study of the rise of libertine ideas in France during the XVIIIth century, by making accessible this rare text,⁷ which, aside from certain pages on supernatural elements, differs chiefly from the later edition in that its attacks on established society and revealed religion are more extensive. For example, the much disputed Chapter VI on the religion of the Australians is nearly three times as long as in the later printing. Having returned to the Catholic faith before the latter was made, and living in a monastery since 1684, where he was trying to outlive his detestable reputation, Foigny naturally wanted to attenuate somewhat his shocking statements in a book "scandaleux et rempli de dogmes dangereux et erreurs."⁸ Be it said, nevertheless, that the spirit of the work is not essentially modified.

Like other utopian writers of his day, Foigny was not at all interested in seeing applied the type of society he depicted; in fact, he gave to his Australians a peculiar characteristic which would make a duplication of their mode of living impossible. A major reason for writing these unorthodox things was most probably to secure a *succès de scandale*. He was tenacious in money matters, was harassed by insufficient income, and dissipated his means with bad living. But he certainly chose unwisely the city in which to live and publish. Success came, but too late for him to enjoy it. The year of the Barbin edition was the year of Foigny's death. Indeed this edition must have sold well, as, of the two copies in the Harvard library, one is on much thicker and rougher paper, seeming to

⁷ He printed, with a facsimile of the title page, the text in his *Successeurs de Cyrano de Bergerac*, giving in italics all parts omitted in 1692, and in the notes the other variations of any importance (pp. 61-163).

⁸ *Registre du Conseil*, Genève, 28 fév. 1677, quoted by Lachèvre, p. 45. Some critics, among them Lachèvre, believe that the 1692 edition was made under the direction of the abbé François Raguenet, but probably from a manuscript prepared by Foigny.

indicate that there were two printings within the year. If he lived to see the copies come off the press on June 14, how smugly comfortable he must have felt to observe on the title-page the words: "Avec privilège du Roy," and how astonished are we to read them today! The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale lists a French edition the following year, greatly diminished in number of pages, *Nouveau voyage de la Terre australe . . .*, Paris, Barbin. Close on the heels of the revived French editions came an English translation, *A New Discovery of terra incognita australis, or the Southern World*. By James Sadeur, a French-man . . ., London, J. Dutton, 1693; and in 1701 an abridged translation in Dutch appeared in Amsterdam, published by W. de Coup, etc., *Nieuwe reize na het Zuid-land behelzende de gewoontens en zeden der Zuidlanders . . .* Door Jaques Sadeur. 1705 saw six printings marked Paris on the title-page, chez la veuve Barbin, M. David, Ribou, Guignard, Osmont and Cavelier. All six have the same number of pages; Ribou is the authentic edition, as the *privilège* was granted to Christophe David, and shared by him with Aubouin, Charpentier, Ribou, and Co. An edition in 1732 at Amsterdam, chez David Mortier, Lachèvre believed to be made up of the unsold copies of the Ribou, 1705, printing, with a new title-page. The marquis de Paulmy included extracts of the *Aventures* in his *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* for February, 1786, and, finally, they were published in the Garnier edition of *Voyages imaginaires . . .*, Amsterdam, 1788, vol. xxiv.⁹ All these reeditions follow the 1692 text. None of them are so rare as the Geneva publication.¹⁰

With the increased diffusion of deistic ideas and freed from the severe control of Geneva, Gabriel de Foigny had attained the glory for which he struggled so desperately and unwisely during his life.

LAHONTAN

So great was the diffusion of Lahontan's works¹¹ at the beginning of the XVIIIth century that the classification of the multiple

⁹ Lachèvre erroneously indicates vol. xxvi. His bibliography of editions of Foigny's works is incomplete.

¹⁰ Copies of these various reeditions may be had in several libraries in this country, for example, Library of Congress, Harvard, Newberry, John Crerar.

¹¹ Here are the fairly complete titles of the three volumes: *Nouveaux voyages de Mr. le Baron de Lahontan, dans l'Amerique septentrionale*, qui

editions and fictitious imprints constitutes one of the knottiest problems of the bibliographer. It has been only partly solved by the two scholars who have made a careful study of it: James Constantine Pilling of the Smithsonian Institution and Victor Hugo Paltsits of the New York Public Library.¹² They recognized that there were three printings of the first two volumes, all bearing on the title-page the date, 1703, and the *frères l'Honoré* at Amsterdam as the publishers, the three being distinguished by different vignettes on the title-page. Paltsits called them the "angel" (really a *Renommée*), the "globe" and the "ornament" (scroll) editions.¹³ Since the frères L'Honoré were apparently actual publishers in Amsterdam,¹⁴ the spurious editions were probably printed outside of Holland. The *Renommée* may be the authentic edition; the

contiennent une relation des différens Peuples qui y habitent; la nature de leur Gouvernement; leur Commerce, leurs Coutumes, leur Religion, & leur manière de faire la Guerre. L'Intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer dans ce Païs, étant en Guerre avec la France. Le tout enrichi de Cartes et de Figures. Tome Premier. A La Haye, chez les Frères l'Honoré, M. DCCIII. (1703.) *Memoires de l'Amerique septentrionale, ou la Suite des Voyages* de Mr. Le Baron de Lahontan, Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande étendue de Païs de ce Continent, l'intérêt des François & des Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, les Mœurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages &c. Avec un petit dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. Tome second. A La Haye, chez les Frères l'Honoré, M. DCCIII. (1703.) *Supplément aux Voyages* du Baron de Lahontan, Où l'on trouve des Dialogues curieux entre l'Auteur et un Sauvage De bon sens qui a voyagé. L'on y voit aussi plusieurs Observations faites par le même auteur dans ses Voyages en Portugal, en Espagne, en Hollande, et en Dannemarck, &c. Tome Troisième. Avec Figures. La Haye, Chez les Frères L'Honoré . . . M. DCC. III. (1703.)

¹² J. C. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1891, pp. 288-295; V. H. Paltsits, *Lahontan Bibliography*, in *New Voyages to North-America . . .*, edited by R. G. Thwaites, Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Co., 1905, pp. li-xciii, reprinted in limited edition (25 copies), Chicago, McClurg, 1905.

¹³ There are at least 13 full French and 4 English editions of the *Nouveaux Voyages* and the *Mémoires de l'Amérique septentrionale*, 9 complete French and 5 English editions of the *Dialogues*, besides translations in Dutch, Italian and German of one or another or of all.

¹⁴ See J.-P. Belin, *le Commerce des livres prohibés à Paris de 1750 à 1789*, Paris, Belin frères, 1913, for the reproduction (opp. p. 34) of an engraving which shows the shop of François l'Honoré, one of the l'Honoré brothers, in front of the *Bourse* at Amsterdam.

"sphere" edition is almost certainly fictitious, as the vignette is an imitation of the Elzevierian globe.

Besides numerous other plates, perfect copies of the 1703 editions contain two *planches du titre*, one representing a globe with the words, *orbis patria* and a bird flying toward it, and the other the figure of an Indian with a bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right, and pressing under the left foot a crown and a scepter and under the right, a book (of laws), with the legend, *Et leges et sceptrum terit*. Pilling discovered that in some cases the plate of the Indian is in reverse, the arrow and the book being on the left, and the crown and the bow on the right. Although Paltsits believed that his bibliography was definitive, neither he nor his predecessor observed that at least two different plates of the Indian were used in various copies of the "angel" edition and a third one in the "scroll" edition, and still another in the 1709 edition. A fifth one is found pasted in the second volume of a copy of the "angel" edition in the Houghton Library at Harvard University. In addition to the reversal of the plates, the variations consist in slight differences in foreground and sky, including the number of birds (seven, three or two), and especially in the figure of the Indian, whose body has the appearance of a European's in what is probably the earliest printing, and in later, cruder plates is more stocky. The study of the globe-and-bird cut is no less intriguing. There are at least four plates, three in the "angle" edition and another in the 1705 edition. In addition to the interest afforded to the bibliophile, this variety in the 1703 issues proves an ever greater diffusion of the *Nouveaux voyages* than one had supposed, since the variations in the *planches du titre* must indicate very extensive printings.

Another question in regard to Lahontan arises from the recent publication in Canada of two manuscript documents attributed to him.¹⁵ The problem is of some interest, since the second document would make of Lahontan a traitor to his country. Lanctôt based his belief in their authenticity on similarity in style and in handwriting (he printed a facsimile of a known autograph letter of

¹⁵ *New Documents by Lahontan concerning Canada and Newfoundland*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Gustave Lanctôt. Documents presented by Lady Oakes to the Public Archives of Canada. Ottawa, J. O. Patenaude, . . . 1940, 69 pp., plates, plan, map.

Lahontan and the first page of each of the *Mémoires*) and on certain biographical details, concluding that "the testimony . . . is as convincing as it is irrefutable No doubt even occurs to the mind, when we compare the texts."

However, let us exercise the privilege of reexamining the matter. As for the first argument, style seldom offers a convincing proof, especially in the case of secondary writers. The handwriting, too, is rather questionable; while offering some general likenesses, the letter, for which a different type of pen was used, is more carelessly written. Although Lanctôt does not take the pains to enumerate the biographical proofs, one finds some such: the author of the first *Mémoire* made a trip to Quebec in 1690 in the governor's ship, as did Lahontan; also, like Lahontan, he was sent in 1683 to La Barre, governor of French Canada, in a company of marines as a lieutenant; and he refers to having made several trips between Europe and Canada.

This circumstantial evidence would be more convincing if it were not for two other details. In the spring of 1687 the author of the second *Mémoire* accompanied Champigny, intendant of Canada, when he visited eighteen settlements or towns, to make a census of the available fighting forces, the report being sent to France in May. In his tenth letter, dated July 8, 1686, Lahontan spoke of the arrival of M. de Champigny and added that the latter, with M. Denonville, was bound speedily for Montreal, where they intended to take a review of this island and of the neighboring cantons. Evidently the census was not taken until the following spring. We know that Lahontan was in garrison at Boucherville, near Montreal, until the spring of 1687, dividing his time between hunting and fishing. At the end of his tenth letter, he remarked that he was so well pleased with the hunting of this country that he was determined to spend all of his leisure upon this exercise. On May 28, 1687, the month in which Champigny's report was sent to France, Lahontan wrote enthusiastically of his winter's hunting and said that he had no news from Quebec. On June 8 he mentioned Champigny, who, two days before, had gone to Fort Frontenac. No reference to the census nor to Lahontan's part in it is made, yet in his twelfth letter he remarked that the militia encamped in Saint Helen's Island along with the regular troops, was composed of 1500 men, and that they were joined by 500 of the

converted savages who lived in the neighborhood of Quebec and the island of Montreal. In the *Lancôt Mémoire*, the militia was estimated at 1631, and the Indians of military age living among the French at 350.

More disturbing perhaps is the mention (p. 56) of the two years which the author of the second *Mémoire* spent at Plaisance. ("Le nombre de vaisseaux qui y sont venus pendant les deux années que je mi suis trouvé peut bien se monter a 38 ou 40 . . .") Now we know that Lahontan was named lieutenant at Plaisance as a reward for brave action against the English when his ship put in at Plaisance on its way to Europe, but that, owing to mistreatment by de Brouillon, the governor, he deserted his post after a few months. (He was there from June 20 to December 14, 1693.) The ten years of his life in Canada are accounted for in his *Voyages*; furthermore, it is not possible that he later spent two years at Plaisance, as he was then a fugitive from justice.

Disgruntled because he had not been allowed to return to France while it was still possible to save the family fortune, and justifiably angry at treatment received from the governor of Plaisance, when he hastily prepared for the printer the twenty-five letters he had written to the "vieux cagot de parent," Lahontan included, as we have seen, in the complete title of the first volume of his *Nouveaux voyages*, the following phrase, which he omitted on the title-page of the second volume: "l'avantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer dans ce Païs, étant en Guerre avec la France." Scarcely two or three pages justify this part of the title; after very judicious and detailed advice to the French as to means of attracting the friendship of the Iroquois, he devotes less space and ingenuity to suggestions to the English for fostering the hostility between the French and the Iroquois, saying as he had done elsewhere that "les Anglois de ces colonies ne se donnent pas assez de mouvement, ils sont un peu trop indolents, les Coureurs de bois François sont assurément plus actifs & plus vigilants."¹⁶ This follows close on a section where he went to no small pains to point out abuses in French Canada and to suggest very sensible reforms, which, if followed, would have made New France in thirty or forty years "un Royaume plus beau et plus florissant que plusieurs autres de l'Europe" (pp. 81-82).

¹⁶ *Mémoires de l'Amérique septentrionale*, pp. 84-90.

It is true that Lahontan resented the "fâcheuse autorité des ecclésiastes" in Canada, from which he suffered personally, and that he exposed the corruption of the governors, who were more interested in personal gain than in the development of the colony, but this is all quite different from the tone of the second *Lancôt Mémoire*, which offers to the English a detailed plan for military operations which would lead to taking and maintaining Quebec and Plaisance, and which discusses coldly the advantages to the English of destroying French trade, both internal and by sea, stating that not a hundred French families could be found in Canada who would not welcome the more liberal English rule. He spoke elsewhere (p. 30) of the "inhumanités incroyables" committed by the French in a struggle against the English at d'Orange (Albany), and said a little later (p. 36) that "il ni a pas une nation sauvage qui n'ahisse [*sic*] intérieurement les françois par une infinité de raisons." Not a very loyal Frenchman this! When he reminds the reader (p. 42) that he has already explained with what facility the English could ruin French commerce by the establishment of a fort at Lake Erie, *Lancôt* considers that he is referring to the first *Mémoire* (cf. p. 36 for example), but the reference seems even more clear to Lahontan's published *Mémoires*, pp. 84-90. Another coincidence: savages, says the author of the first *Mémoire*, were instructed to guide his soldiers to Fort du Lut (Duluth, i. e., Saint-Joseph); the construction and abandonment of this fort and of the one at Niagara were, he declared, "la plus grande folie du monde et en mesme temps la plus grande honte pour la nation françoise" (p. 28). Lahontan was indeed in command of Saint-Joseph's at that time, but it was he who burned it before deserting it at the end of the summer of 1688!

Did Lahontan purposely distort some of the facts about his life, intending that his *Mémoires* should appear anonymously? ¹⁷ Then, when he—or the printer—published them under his name, did he decide to withdraw these traitorous *Mémoires*, without, however, removing from the title-page of the first volume the notation about

¹⁷ That the manuscript *Mémoires* were intended for publication, there is no doubt, since we read, p. 42, "j'ay desja expliqué dans mes précédents mémoires (note the plural) avec combien de facilité les anglois peuvent faire déchoir et ruiner le commerce des françois . . . , ainsi ie me contenteray de faire concevoir à ceux qui prendront la peine de lire celui ci l'avantage"

the English, which scarcely has a *raison-d'être* in the printed text? Exiled from France, living in Holland among the Bohemia of Europe, did he carry his rancor against his country to the extent that he wanted to assist the English in taking possession of *la Nouvelle France*?

In any case, it would seem that the two Lanctôt documents could bear more investigation before their authenticity is firmly established. This question just adds a bit to the already challenging problems connected with the Lahontan bibliography.

SIMON TYSSOT DE PATOT

Bibliographers have listed two 1710 editions of Simon Tyssot de Patot's *Voyages et aventures de Jaques Massé*. One, very rare today, bearing the imprint of Cologne, chez Jaques Kaincus, is described by Frédéric Lachèvre, who owned a copy, as containing a portrait of the author, 4 introductory pages and 508 pages of text.¹⁸ As no such printer as Jaques Kaincus ever lived in Cologne,¹⁹ this fictitious imprint may have appeared in Holland. On the title-page of the other 1710 edition appears the name of Jaques l'Aveugle, at Bordeaux. David Rich McKee²⁰ was the first Tyssot bibliographer to observe that there were three imprints in 1710 bearing the name of Jaques l'Aveugle, the three being differentiated by the vignette on the title-page. One is a sphere, the second a design of crossed swords, a trident, anchors, etc., and the third shows the scantily draped figure of a woman leaning against a balustrade, with the sun darting its rays on her from the left, and three Greek columns at the right. Mr. McKee noted that the type was set differently in all three of the Bordeaux imprints, but made no attempt to determine their authenticity.

Although these three are entirely separate printings, each publisher was careful to maintain 508 pages, as in the "Cologne" edition, the number of introductory sheets varying however. Up to page 505, the texts keep together fairly closely, with many differences in spacing within the page. In the "sphere" edition, the

¹⁸ Frédéric Lachèvre, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-258.

¹⁹ See Emil Weller, *Die falschen und fingirten Druckorte*, Leipzig, 1864. 2 vol. in 1, t. II, p. 76.

²⁰ David Rice McKee, *Simon Tyssot de Patot and the Seventeenth-Century Background of Critical Deism*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941.

last page is set in very much finer type. The two other editions crowd the last pages, adding an extra line, with the usual type for the last page. Although we note that two printers succeeded better in compressing the content to 508 pages, none of these observations leads us to deduce which one set up the type from the manuscript, and which ones from a printed text. The original printer may have crowded the last page to save paper, or one of his imitators may have been hard pressed to conform to his pagination.

It is interesting to note, furthermore, that in the "anchor" and "sphere" editions, the spelling of the city of publication is *Bourdeaux*, and in the other one it is *Bordeaux*. Peculiarities or errors of spelling occur in one or another of the editions, but on the whole, the "woman and the colonnade" edition is more carefully done, with fewer typographical errors. Also it is more handsome. The design on the title-page is a fine bit of workmanship. The vignette at the top of the first page of the text is also much better than the ones in the other books. It represents two pieces of land separated by a body of water, and joined by an arched bridge, with a church and a windmill on the farther shore. Just what might be the rôle of the windmill—or indeed of the church—in Jacques Massé's voyages is not quite clear. The *raison-d'être* of the beautiful woman idly leaning against a balustrade in a Grecian setting is equally vague. In other words, the printer used what he had on hand. Opposite the title-page in this more careful edition, is a very finely cut, unsigned, "Portrait du Philosophe Jacques (*sic*) Massé, Tiré de la Bibliothèque de Mylord Bulinbroke (*sic*)."²¹ This is probably Tyssot de Patot himself, as his portrait, affixed seventeen years later to his *Œuvres poétiques* presents the same rather peculiar features, though he has grown older in the interval. In the latter he is wearing the wig and gown of a professor of mathematics at the "illustre école de Deventer." (A portrait of him is also found in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Deventer.)

It is not hard to surmise that no printer, even though he lacked the *privilège du roi*, would graciously consent to the publication of multiple spurious editions of the same work under his name. Our suspicion that no such printer as Jaques l'Aveugle (his name was

²¹ A print made from the worn plate of the same portrait was added to a copy of the "sphere" edition which is to be found at Widener Library, Harvard University.

well chosen) ever lived in Bordeaux or elsewhere, is confirmed by at least three authorities.²² It is equally certain that these books were not printed in Bordeaux. They may have appeared in Holland or Cologne, or even somewhere in France. The only clue to the place of publication is furnished by the signatures on the vignette of the woman and the balustrade, which are C. Eisen *in(ventit)* and *f(ecit)* Aveline. Now we know that Charles Eisen (1720-1778) was a well-known painter and engraver; he was born in Valenciennes, worked in France, and died in Brussels, the son of François Eisen, a painter and native of Brussels. The C. Eisen who designed our engraving may have been a less-known relative of these two. The Avelines were an illustrious family of artists living in Paris; two, who were engravers, could, as far as dates are concerned, have executed this engraving: Pierre (1654?-1722) and his son, Antoine (1691?-1743). It seems more than likely, then, that this edition of *Jaques Massé* was made somewhere in France, perhaps in Paris, under the very nose of the censors, the editor using an engraving in his possession, designed and executed by two French artists. A copy of this imprint is found in the Library of Congress.

The vignettes on the title-page of the other two "Bordeaux" editions were commonly reproduced in the xviiith and xviiith centuries. That of the sphere, belonging to the famous Elzevier printers in Holland,²³ was used, with slight variations, by countless publishing houses over Europe for spurious editions, in Lahontan's *Nouveaux voyages*, for example. The design on the first page of the text of the two is entirely different. Furthermore, that of the

²² See Ernest Labadie, *Notices biographiques sur les imprimeurs et libraires bordelais du XVI^e et XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles . . .*, Bordeaux, Mounastre-Picamillh, 1900, p. 3; Georges Bouchon, *Histoire d'une imprimerie bordelaise. 1600-1900*, Bordeaux, les Imprimeurs G. Gounouilhoul, 1901, p. 81, n. 3; Alfred Leroux, *les Religionnaires de Bordeaux de 1685 à 1802*, Bordeaux, Feret et fils, 1920, p. 26-27. I am indebted to Dr. Arnold Weinberger of Houghton Library for this bibliographical information.

Jaques l'Aveugle lent his name to another edition of *Jaques Massé* in 1760, printed à l'*Utopie*!

²³ For the authentic Elzevierian spheres, see reproductions in Gustaf Berghman, *Etudes sur la bibliographie elzevérienne*, basée sur l'ouvrage "les Elzevier" de M. Alphonse Willems, avec 470 figures reproduisant les vignettes, culs-de-lampe et lettres grises des Elzevier. Stockholm, Imprimerie d'Ivar Hoeggström, 1885.

"sphere" edition is in certain copies in reverse, with minor changes, showing that it was cut twice, and that there were two imprints of that edition.

To summarize: there were three entirely different 1710 "Bordeaux" editions, with two separate printings of one of them, all bearing the name of the fictitious printer Jaques l'Aveugle; furthermore, there was a fourth 1710 edition purported to have been published by the equally mythical Jaques Kaincus at Cologne. Since, of the three "Bordeaux" editions, that of the "woman and the colonnade" is more luxurious and accurate, and contains a portrait of the author, it would appear to be the first edition, and is probably French.²⁴

The inscriptions under the portrait in the *Voyages et aventures* might indicate that Simon Tyssot de Patot, *alias* Jaques Massé, would gladly throw the responsibility for his deistic ideas on Lord Bolingbroke and English writers of his kind. But the more we become acquainted with the multiple fictitious imprints and diffusion of works like *la Terre australe connue*, the *Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amerique septentrionale*, and the *Voyages et aventures de Jaques Massé*, the more we realize that the French libertines of the late XVIIIth century needed no bridge across the Channel. Investigations in this field constantly widen the horizons of critical deism and show increasingly the diffusion of these philosophic utopias in what seems superficially to have been a strictly censored France.

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²⁴ Tyssot's libertine work, *la Vie, les aventures et le voyage de Groenland du révérend père cordelier Pierre de Mesange . . .*, Amsterdam, Etienne Roger, 1720, 2 vols., is not so rare as some critics believe. I know of 5 copies, and there are probably more, in this country: Boston, Harvard, Library of Congress (two copies, one listed under *Pierre de Mesange*), Newberry. The Johns Hopkins University has a photostat, taken from the copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale, of his rare *Lettres choisies*, La Haye, chez Mathieu Roguet, 1727, 2 vol. Two of the pages (t. II, 323-4) which most scandalized his contemporaries, including his wife, have been torn out.

GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY

PART IX

The material here presented is taken from Hieronymus Bock's *New Kreütter Buch*, Straßburg, 1539.¹ Bock² was born in 1498 at Heidesbach in the former duchy of Zweibrücken, which is now part of the Palatinate, and spent his life at Zweibrücken, Hornbach, and Saarbrücken, all of them towns not far distant from his birthplace. He died in 1554 at Hornbach. He was for some time in charge of the botanical garden of his prince, which he enriched with numerous plants, gathered on his journeys. He added to the botanical vocabulary of the German language by recording the various names of a given plant in different parts of the country. The adjective *New*, added to the title of his *Kreütter Buch*, does not mean that he had previously compiled another edition, but is probably a reference to the *Kräuterbuch* of Otto Brunfels, published in 1532, 1534, and 1537.

Editions of Bock's *Kreütter Buch* are noted for the years 1539, 1546, 1551, 1572, 1595, and 1630. I have used the very rare first edition, in the Library of the Institute for the History of Medicine of the Johns Hopkins University. German lexicographers have been well aware of Bock's importance, but they have made only sporadic use of his work. Some words used by Bock antedate the instances given in the dictionaries by a century or more; others are not recorded. Some of the latter group, of foreign origin, are perfectly familiar to us in English, but the German language did not assimilate them. The following selection is not meant to be complete.

ABBEREITEN: Alle speyß mit dürrer Salbey abbereit . . . seindt lieplich (I, 13^a); sol dise wurtzel in wasser mit zucker abbereyt, gesotten werden (34^b); in wein oder wasser gesotten, vnd mit

¹ *New Kreütter Bûch von vnderscheydt / würckung vnd namen der kreütter so in Teütschen landē wachsen . . . Beschriben durch Hieronymum Bock auß langwiriger vnnd gewisser erfahrung / vnnd gedruckt zû Straßburg / durch Wendel Rihel. Im jar M. D. XXXIX.* Two parts. I: 10 unnumbered and 174 numbered leaves. II: 88 numbered and 4 unnumbered leaves, in folio.

² *Allg. deu. Biogr.* II, 766.

zucker abbereyt (79^b); auch in die kuchen, Gens vnd andere speyß darmit gefült vnd abbereyt (99^b); kreütter, damit sie die sterck geel abbereyten (104^b); gibt eyn wolgeschmackten saß, mit essig abbereyt, zů aller speiß (II, 50^a): not in *DWb*.

ABSCHNITZLING, m.: ist eyn yeder same gebogen anzůsehen, wie die abschnitzling der negel, von den fingern, oder wie die vogels kloen (I, 37^a): *DWb* cites *Simplicissimus*.

ACKERKLETTE, f.: Von Acker vnd Wald Kletten, ca. cj. (II, 76^a); In vnser art nent man sie felt Kletten, Acker kletten, Lappula campestris et ruralis (76^b): not in *DWb*.

ÄHERN, vb.: der groß gemeyn Steynklee mit den gelen geäherten blümlin. Der ander groß mit den weissen geäherten blümlin (II, 3^a); Solcher geäherter frucht, haben wir vilerlei art (15^b); das Rubigo die Daub sucht den geäherten frůchten zu vollem Monschein gedrang thůe (26^b): *DWb* cites a rare verb *ähern*, 'spicas legere'; in our instances *geähert* means 'possessing ears,' or, 'shaped like ears.'

ALANTSTÖCKLEIN, n.: dauon mag man auch junge Alant stöcklin, wie von obgemelten neben äuglin zielen (I, 43^b): not in *DWb*.

ALANTWURZEL, f.: Alantwurtzel ist vngeuerlich die gröst vnd schönst vnder den gestirnten blůmen (I, 43^a): not in *DWb*, which cites *Alantwurz* without example.

AMELKORN, n.: den Weyssen von der Speltzen, oder Gersten vnnd Ammelkorn . . . nit wissen von eynander zu scheyden (II, 16^a); Mit dem Ammelkorn hats auch die gestalt. . . . Dann Ammelkorn wůrt bei vns nach der säet im fünfften monat in die schwer gethon. . . . Das Ammelkorn nent Diosco. Sitamium, Trimestre, vnd am 29. ca. libri secundi Amylon den namen behelt es auch bei vns teůtschen, aus welchem das krafft mel gemacht wůrt (16^b): not in *DWb*.

ANNEHM, adj.: wůrt das schönst, edelst, krefftigst vnd wol schmeckest brot auß Weyssen bachen. Die best annemist speiß zů den jungen kindlin (II, 16^b): *DWb* cites a single instance of *annehm* from Melanchthon. Cp. *angenehm* and MHG *annæme*.

APFELKÖRNLEIN, n.: wiewol sie herfür krochen mit zweyen runden groen bletlin, als die apffelkörnlin vffwachsen (II, 72^b): not in *DWb*.

APOTHEKENMEISTER, m.: dann vnser Apotecken meyster, kennen dise Chamillen blümen noch nit (I, 39^b): not in *DWb*.

AUFWACHSUNG, f.: Gemelte kuchen kreütter gewinnen im zweyten jar der vffwachsung, jre rippechte stengel (II, 39^b): not in *DWb*.

AUSFALLUNG, f.: Nach Ausfallung der selben, wachsen runde stachelechte knöpfflin (II, 39^b); nach außfallung der violen, werden runde bollen oder knöpfflin darauß (II, 86^a): not in *DWb*.

BACHKRAUT, n.: wachsen aus den selben andere bachkreütter, dem Brunnenkreß nit ongleich (II, 33^a); die gemieste Bachkreütter mit gewerben, stengeln vnd helmern (33^b): not in *DWb*.

BACHROHR, n.: ist mit seinen blättern schmaler vnnd zarter, dann des gemeynen Bachrors (II, 30^b): not in *DWb*.

BARTICHT, adj.: Im Hewmonat dringen seine bartichte vnd zothichte ähern aus den graß scheyden, grösser vnd volkumlicher weder des Hirsens (II, 24^b); mit vilen zaselen, wie die bartichte äher am ror (27^b); bringen sie im Hewmonat zottichte weyche bartichte ähern (28^b). *DWb* cites Opitz.

BARTSAMEN, m.: ist der somen am geschmack gantz hitzig als der Hanenfus. Solcher bart somen würt imm herbst von den winden hin vnd dar geführt, daraus wachsen neue stöcklin (II, 69^b): not in *DWb*.

BASILGE, m. f.: vergleichen sich auch der wilden Basilgen (I, 3^b); Die drit vnd wild Basilg soll das Ocimastrum . . . sein . . . Vnsern wilden Basilgen halt ich für das eyn Ocimum Catonis (7^b); Der wild Basilgen hat seine wirckung mit den Müntzen vnd Balsam kreütern (8^a); so würt die edele Basilgen inn den hundestagen nit bleich geel (II, 20^b): Weigand cites NHG *Basilikum* and MHG *basilie*.

BÄTERLIN, n.: Den brand vnd bäterlin der Nesselen stillet vnd heilet Rosen öl (I, 2^a): not in *DWb*. Probably misprint for *Bläterlin*, which occurs (I, 22^b): macht sie rot, vnd erweckt bläterlin . . . erweckt . . . kleine bläterlein.

BAUMFARN, m.: Von Steynfarn vnd baumfarn (I, 160^a): *DWb* cites no example.

BAUMNUSZLAUB, n.: die bletter sint zerspalten beinahe wie das jung Baumnuß laub (I, 172^b): not in *DWb*.

BEKLÜTTERN: im guten fromen Dio. der also seer beklüttert ist mit commentarien (I, 20^a): not in *DWb*; cp. *klittern*, *klüttern*, 'klecken, klecksen, besonders eilig und schlecht schreiben.'

BERGGRÜN: solche bletter eyn mal grün, dann bleych weiß mit etwas blofarb vermengt, als Berggrün, von art eyn schön gewechs (II, 84^a): *DWb* has no example.

BETTLERLAUS, f.: dise Kletten (die man an etlichen orten Bettlerleuß nent (II, 75^b); Obgemelte stachelete Kletten vnd Betler leuß ermanen mich der holen schwartzen Weiher oder Seenussen zügedencken (*ib.*): *DWb* cites no examples; cp. the term *nigger lice*, used for the burdock in Maryland.

BETTLERWELSCH, n.: nemlich der Habern, zû latein Auena, vnnd zû Betler welsch Spitzling genant (II, 22^b): this term for 'Rotwelsch' not in *DWb*.

BEULICHT, adj.: zû den fistelen vnnd anderen beülichten geschweren (I, 63^b): derived from *Beule*, 'Geschwulst'; not in *DWb*.

BINGELKRAUT, n.: lobt . . . Mercurius sein Moly vnd Bingelkraut (I, [4]^a): *DWb* cites Henisch (1616).

BINTZECHT, adj.: eyn blosser, horichter, runder, bintzechter, stengel (I, 156^b); stoßen sie dünne bintzechte vnnd knöpffichte helmer, sampt jrem ror ähern (II, 30^a); wechßt eyn rund bintzecht Graß geschlecht, on knöpff, oder gewerb (30^b): *DWb* cites *binsicht*, without example, and compares *bintzechtig*, in *Simplicissimus*.

BINTZENGESCHLECHT, n.: Das erst Bintzen geschlecht daraus man gedeckt vnd matten pflegt zû machen, nent Plinius Mariscon (II, 31^b): not in *DWb*.

BINTZENHALM, m.: sicht man . . . blümen dragen, auff runden Bintzen helmern, gleich wie die erst (I, 67^b); an obgesetzter Bintzen, welche vnser weiber wol vnnd recht Bintzen helmer nennen. Ob yemans solche glatte hole helmer, auch Waldror nennen würt . . . Gegenwertige glatte vnd onknöpffichte Bintzen helmer, werden zû etlichen instrumenten . . . gemacht (II, 31^a): not in *DWb*.

BLAUSCHWARZ, adj.: gleich wie auch etlich brot bloschwartz würt, so auß etlichē Weyßen gebachen ist (II, 25^b): *DWb* cites no example.

BLICKEN, m.: Aber Dinckel würt in etlichen orten Sanct Peters korn, in etlichen orten Blicken, vnd im Wormsergaw Eynkorn genant (II, 18^b): not in *DWb*.

BLUTKRAUT, n.: auch rot köl nennet, vnd sol . . . eyn recht blüt-kraut sein. . . Neben disem blüt-kraut (welches inn vnserm landt das recht Blüt-kraut ist), findt man noch mehr Blüt-kreütter (II, 41^a): *DWb* cites no example.

BLUTSTELLUNG, f.: mögen für alle giff, vnd zûr blütstellung jnnerlich vnd eüsserlich erwelet werden (I, 92^b): *DWb* cites Abele (1670).

BLUTSTILLUNG, f.: Weiderich ist eyn blütstillung, jnwendig vnnd ausserhalb des leibs genützt (I, 47^a): *DWb* cites Butschky (1677).

BRACHENDISTEL, f.: Von Manßtrew, Brachendistel vnd Radendistel (II, 84^a); mit diser wallen oder Brachendistel, die auch zû teutsch Manßtrew, Ellend vnnd Radendistel heyst (84^b): *DWb* cites only *Brachdistel*, without example.

BRAUNELLE, f.: blümen, den Braunellen oder den roten Fleysch-blümen nit ongleich (II, 25^b): *DWb* gives no example.

BROMBEERLAUB, n.: vnd sind solche schwartz grüne Hopffen bletter, dem Brombeer laub gleich (II, 68^a): not in *DWb*.

BRUCHWIESE, f.: wachsen in den faulen Matten oder brüch wisen (I, 157^a): not in *DWb*.

BRUNNENKRESZ, m.: wachsen aus den selben andere bach-kreütter, dem Brunnenkreß nit ongleich (II, 33^a): *DWb* records only the feminine *Brunnenkresse*, without example.

BUBENSTRÄL, m.: so sind doch die Bûben streel die ersten, vnnd heyst dis gewechs . . . Dipsacos . . . Ferners nent man die Karten auch Bûbenstreel, weberstreel, zû latein Cardum fullonum (II, 77^b): *DWb* cites Lonicerus (1598).

BUCHAMPFER, m.: welche bletter in der ersten dem Buchampffer sich vergleichen . . . vnd gewint weißlicht bloe violen, nit grösser dann der Buchampffer, eyn yedes blümlin, auch sunderlich auff seinem kleynen stilche (I, 154^a); thût sich der Saurklee oder Buchampfer herfür (154^b): *DWb* cites Hohberg (1716).

CHARAKTER, m.: zû solchem handel hab ich keyn seggen keyn beschwerung noch Caracter (wie etliche darmit handeln) gebraucht,

sunder on alle superstition, dem samen nach gangen (I, 161^b): Schulz cites Thomasius (1688).

DAMPFBAD, n.: Dempffbäder darauß gemacht treiben auß die ander geburt (I, 4^a); Eyn dampffbad auß Dyll gemacht; bekumpt wol der schmerzlichen mütter (134^a); Dempff vnnd schweißbäder mögen auß disem kraut . . . bereyt werden (II, 83^a): *DWb* cites Jean Paul.

DEGENERIEREN: Der dritt mangel ist, dz etwan die Linsen auch degenerieren, vnd werden zû runden Wicklin (II, 14^a): Weigand cites Rot (1571).

DEKOKTION, f.: Eyn Decoction aus Poley vnnd gûtem weyssem wein gemacht. . . . Solche decoction vnnd dergleichen sollen nit gebraucht werden (I, 5^b); Eyn decoction auß Basilgen gemacht mit wein (7^b); Gemelte decoction treibt auch auß die schwartzen Gallen (11^b); Eyn decoction von Chamillen gemacht, gibt (39^a): not in Weigand.

DEPRAVIERT, adj.: ist nit so seer gefelt, es mögen aber die wort auch etwas deprauiert sein, wie in vil orten (I, 58^a); wie das die bücher der alten in vilen stücken deprauiert, oder vnfleissig zûm ersten mal von den schreibern ins liecht kommen (II, 87^a): not in Weigand.

DINKELFELD, n.: vnder den rauhen fruchten, als Speltz, Dinkel-feldern wechßt eyn zerschnitten kraut (II, 76^a): not in *DWb*.

DISTELBLATT, n.: zweyer elen hoch, mit vilen satten vnd schmalen distel blettern bekleydet (II, 76^b): not in *DWb*.

DORTBLATT, n.: vnnd werden mit der zeit lange grasichte dort-bletter zû beden seiten scharpff (II, 50^a): not in *DWb*.

DORTGRAS, n.: verfaul, oder ein ontuglich Dortgras daraus wachß (II, 26^b): not in *DWb*.

DORTQUECKE, f.: die äcker . . . haben vns Dortquecken, vnd Gauchhabern geben (II, 27^a): not in *DWb*.

DOSTECHT, adj.: tregt oben eyn liecht braune dostechte blûm (I, 144^b): not in *DWb*.

DÜRRWURZ, f.: Von Dürwurtz . . . vnd sunderlich an diser Dürwurtz. . . . Diweil sie die weiber dise Dürwurtz kennen (II, 42^a); sagen dz der Dürwurtz ist zwey geschlecht groß vnd kleyn

... die man ... Dürwurtz oder Donnerwurtz nent (42^b): *DWb* cites Maaler.

EIFERISCH, adj.: auß grosser eyferischer liebe die sie zûm Hercules getragen (II, 35^a): not in *DWb*.

EMPIRISCH, adj.: Vnsere doctores brauchen dz kraut auch, wiewol sie nichts in der geschrift daruon wissen, lernen täglich von den Empirischen weibern die der Circes kunst können (I, 55^b): Weigand states: "Nach Campe bei Moritz."

ERDEPPICH, m.: Clauicula, das ist Erdeppich (II, 65^a): not in *DWb*, which cites *Erdepheu* without an example.

ERDFLOH, m.: gleich wie die Erdflöhe, Pulices terrestres genant, allem jungen kraut gedrang thûn (II, 26^b); wann dise junge keimlin frosts halben, oder vor den erdflohen nit zerstört werden, wachsen sie inn kurtzer zeit vff (42^a): *DWb* defines as 'mordella,' without giving example.

ESELSKÜRBIS, m.: halt ich für die wilden Cucumeren, ... Cucumerem Asininum, Essels Kürbs, vnd soll der apffel sein (II, 72^b): *DWb* cites Stieler.

EXPIATION, f.: die Teuffel vnd febres verjagt, und das kraut zû eyner expiation wie den Beifûß gebraucht (I, 56^a): not in Weigand.

FAUDE, f.: deren wurtzel ist auch schwartz wasicht zûsamen gedrungen vnd durch eynander geflochten, wie die fauden oder wasen so in den weihern vnnd brüchen wachsen (I, 163^a): *DWb* defines: 'carex, scirpus, schlesisches wort (Weinhold 19^a) für eine schilf oder binsenart,' and cites Lohenstein (1680). Fischer (II, 984), cites a Suabian instance of 1559.

FELDKLETTE, f.: In vnser art nent man sie felt Kletten, Acker kletten, Lappula campestris (II, 76^b): *DWb* defines as 'tordylium anthriscus,' without giving example.

FELDNUSZ, f.: Solche gemelte stück finden wir nit an den Feldnussen oder Erdnussen (II, 15^a): not in *DWb*.

FLEME, FLEMME, f. (?): Im andern oder dritten jar stost die Angelica eyn langen dicken holen stengel, knöpficht, wie eyn starckes ror oder stecken, dardurch dringen am gypffel dünne flemen, als auff geblasen hole secklin, auß welchen kriechen die schöne kronen nit anderst dann am Fenchel (I, 124^a); im obersten

der stengel dringen die kronen durch dünne flemmen, als der Meysterwurtz vnd Angelica (128^b): is this to be identified with *Fleme*, 'adepts renalis,' or *Flemle*, 'membranae et vaginae viscerum,' as recorded in *DWb*?

FOMENT, n.: Eyn foment, bad oder andere zäpflin gemacht (I, 148^a); gibt eyn edel foment, oder behung (II, 17^a); Eyn foment gemacht mit Attich wurtzel vnd kraut (64^a): not in Weigand.

FOMENTIREN: alle geschlecht, seint dienstlich zû fomentieren vnd zû baden den weissen flegmatischen weybern (I, 2^b); mit Spica wasser geriben, vnnd mit den kreüttern fomentiert (15^a); Dise braucht man zû fomentieren, vnd zûr behung (32^b); darmit fomentiert, vnnd geriben, erweckt die selbige, vnd macht sie . . . lebendig (100^a): not in Weigand.

FREISSAM, n.: Von Freyssam dreifaltigkeyt, Das excij. Capitel (I, 166^b); Das wild Freyssam acht man für eyn vnkraut (167^a): not in *DWb* as a plant name.

FUCHSLUNGE, f.: neme Lungen kraut gedört, änis samen, Fuchßlungen im lufft gedört (I, 156^a): *DWb* cites Lonicerus (1598).

FÜLSAL, n.: Maieron . . . Das kraut ist eyn edele wurtz vnd fülsal in aller kost (I, 8^b); Beifuß . . . ist es eyn güt fülsal in die gebratten Genß (98^b): *DWb* cites Stieler.

GARGARISIEREN: darmit gargarisiert vnd eyn weil im mund gehalten (I, 106^a); heylet das hals vnd seiten geschwer, damit gargarisiert vnd auch gedruncken (126^a); heylet alle serigkeyt des mundes vnd hals darmit gewaschen vnd gargarisiert (145^a); ist güt für das essen im mund, zûm hals geschwer darmit gargarisiert (149^a); mit dem selben wasser den rauchen verwunten halß gargariziert, vnnd geschwenckt (II, 17^a): not in Weigand. Cp. Engl. *gargarize*, *gargle*.

GAUCHKLEE, GAUCHSKLEE, m.: nit zû disem gehör, sunder dem Gauchclee, Guckeslauch, Alleluia genant gebüren wölle . . . (II, 2^a); das dritt gebrëuchlich Trifolium ist der Gauchsklee (2^b): *Gauchs-klee* not in *DWb*, *Gauchklee* is cited from Nemnich (1793).

GEÛSHOLZ, n.: als die gedrungene blümlin an dem Geyßholtz das man auch Beinhültzen nennet (I, 171^b): *DWb* cites Nemnich.

HOLZBIRNE, f.: die frucht, anzusehen als die kleyne wilde Holz-

biren (II, 71^b): *DWb* cites the same passage from Tabernaemontanus (1588).

HOLZFÄRBIG, adj.: wie der Entian wurtzel, außwendig erden oder holtzferbig, eyns herben . . . geschmacks (II, 87^b): not in *DWb*.

HOLZLILIE, f.: der den Teütschen Roßgarten gestellet, nent die Holtz lilgen oder Specklilgen auch Narcissos (II, 55^b): not in *DWb*.

INKLINATION, f.: Ich acht das es von eyner sunderlichen feüchtigkeit durch eyn himmlisch inclination herfür krieche (I, 35^a): not in Weigand.

JASMIN, m.: wil aber . . . die dreifaltige blümlin oder violen vnder dem Jasmin halten, von welchen blümen im folgenden capitel weiters (I, 166^b): Weigand cites text of 1580.

JUBE, f.: Die öberste außgeschloffene Jube oder ähern, thûn sich weiter vff, dem Ror gleich (II, 21^b); thûn sich auß eynander, als die Jube oder ähern am ror (22^a): not in *DWb*.

JUNGFRAUENKNECHT, m.: eyn lieblichs kreütlin, es solten die jungkfrauen knecht solch kreütlin stets des gerochs halben bei jnen haben (II, 41^b): not in *DWb*, which cites *Jungfernknecht* from Stieler.

KÄLBERARZNEI, f.: wir mögen solcher schlechter kälber artzney nit, es muß alles frembd vnd wol gepfeffert sein (II, 43^b): not in *DWb*, which records *Kälberarzt*, 'es wird für quacksalber gebraucht.'

KOAGULIEREN: so er also über nacht bleibt stehn, so gestehet oder coaguliert sich das wasser (I, 101^a): not in Weigand.

KOLBECHT, adj.: Die gröst Gerst hat grosse kolbechte ähern (II, 17^b); lange, dicke, vnnnd runde kolbechte ähern, mit vilen fachen (21^b); Dz sechst onkraut stößt gantze runde kolbichte spreuer ähern, wie der fench (27^b): *DWb* cites Tabernaemontanus.

KOLLIGIEREN: Andere wirckung der Rauten mögen auß obernten stucken colligiert vnd erfunden werden (I, 18^a); Andere würckung mögen auß ernenten colligiert werden (69^a); Andere virtutes mag eyn yeder auß obgesatzten colligieren vnd finden (125^a): not in Weigand.

KOMMENTIEREN: über die kreüter so sie mit augen nie erblickt

haben, zû commentieren fürgenommen (I, 14^a): Weigand cites text of 1694.

KOMPONIEREN: das die einzige gewechß, so man Simplicia nent, für den componierten dingen den ersten rûm . . . behalten (I, [4]^b); Hie sicht man zwar, wz man gûts kan componieren, wann wir die simplicia nit kennen (138^b); was man für artznei wider giff vnd Pestilentz bereyten oder componieren will (150^a): Weigand cites Rot (1571).

KONDIEREN: Die armen wurtzen vnd condieren im herbst, den Compost oder Cappes darmit (I, 11^a); doher es die alten haben condiert oder eingesaltzen, vnnd ist dise jnmachung so gût (110^b): not in Weigand.

KONFEKTION, f.: Antiochus der kûnig hat eyn tyriack von Dyll samen gesetzt für alles giff, welche beschreibung oder confection, sol in steyn gehawen sein, im eingang des tempels Aesculapij (I, 133^b): Weigand dates it in the 19th century.

KONFERIEREN: Wer nun angeregte Ochsenzung kennt, der halte sie gegen disen scribenten, conferier also, schrifft vnnd gewächs mit eynander (I, 64^a); Hie conferier man das Capitel Lycopsis mit der wilden Ochsenzenungen (64^b); die wort Dioscor . . . on zanck annemen vnd bede mit eynander conferieren (II, 81^b): Weigand cites Fischart.

KÖRNELICHT, adj.: Diser runden körnelichten wurtzelen des Steynbrechs . . . (das sint die rotte körnelichte wurtzeln) (I, 156^b): not in *DWb*.

KRANKGRINDIG, adj.: lindert den rauhen hûsten, bekûmpt wol der kranckgrindigen plasen vnd nieren (II, 88^a): not in *DWb*.

KREUZBLUME, f.: hab ich nie anderst hören sagen dann Creützblûmen darumb das man sie in der Creützwochen am volkômlichsten findet, darauß machen die Creützungfrawen jre krentzlin, &c. (I, 169^a): *DWb* cites no example.

KREUZBLÜMLEIN, n.: die andern braune vnnd bloe Creützblümlin . . . Gegenwürtige Creützblümlin . . . Creützblümlin in wein gesotten (I, 169^a): not in *DWb*, which records only *Kreuzblümchen*.

KREUZJUNGFRAU, f.: see above under *Kreuzblume*.

THE CHÂTEAU DE RICHELIEU AND DESMARETZ'S
VISIONNAIRES

Except for its influence upon stage decoration and upon the form of the theaters, architecture played little part in French seventeenth-century drama. There are few references to it in the texts of the plays and those few are, with one exception, of little importance. This one exception is the extensive account of a château and its surroundings in *Les Visionnaires*. One may well ask how it happened to be there and whether the author had in mind any particular château.

Desmaretz was more than a favorite of Richelieu. He became the "contrôleur général de l'extraordinaire des guerres" and the "secrétaire général de la marine du Levant."¹ He wrote at Richelieu's request seven plays, one of them for the opening of the Cardinal's theater, another devoted to a defense of his foreign and domestic policies. He was interested in architecture;² when he introduced it into a play, there would be nothing strange about his having in mind a château that bore the name of Richelieu.

Now Phalante, one of the monomaniacs in *Les Visionnaires*, boasts of great, though imaginary wealth and describes at length the most magnificent of the estates he hopes to inherit, a "lieu de plaisir, sejour de mes ayeux."³ To the château leads a long avenue with four rows of trees:

De loing l'on appreçoit [*sic*] vn portail magnifique.
De pres l'ordre est Toscan, et l'ouvrage rustique;
Ce portail donne entrée en vne grande court,
Ceinte de grands ormeaux, et d'un ruisseau qui court: . . .
Vne fontaine au centre a son jet élançé
Par le cornet retors d'un Triton renuersé: . . .
La court, des deux costez, tient à deux bassecours,
De qui le grand chasteau tire tout son secours:
En l'une est le manège, offices, escuries:
L'autre est pour le labeur, et pour les bergeries.
Au fonds de cette court paroist cette maison, . . .
Au bord d'une terrasse vn grand fossé plain d'eau,

¹ Fournier, *Théâtre français au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècles*, II, 353.

² Cf. Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, edition of Monmerqué et Paris, II, 140.

³ III, 5. I quote from the edition of Paris, Camusat, 1639, 12°.

Net, profond, poissonneux, entoure le chateau,
 Pour rendre ce lieu seur contre les escalades;
 Et l'appuy d'alentour ce sont des balustrades.
 . . . Au bout du pont-leuis
 Se presente vn objet dont les yeux sont rauis,
 Trois portes de porphyre, et de jaspe étofées,
 Comme vn arc de triomphe enrichy de trophées.
 On entre en vne court large de deux cens pas . . .
 Le logis éléué, les ailes vn peu moins,
 De quatre pavillons flanquent leurs quatre coings:
 Et par l'estage bas cent colonnes Doriques
 Separent d'ordre égal cent figures antiques.

There is a fountain in this court. Within the château are brilliantly decorated apartments. Of especial interest is the fact that

Au bout des pavillons on void deux galleries,
 Où le peintre épuisa ses doctes resueries.

Desmaretz makes Phalante go on to describe the gardens, mentioning a parterre, a fountain that represents Neptune and a sea-horse, a wood, streams, other fountains, etc.

The frères Parfaict were so much interested in Phalante's remarks that they quoted the whole passage.⁴ They seem to have been the first to publish the statement that it is a description of Richelieu's château and its surroundings, but they offered no evidence in support of this identification. Nearly a century later, Charles de Chergé⁵ went so far as to assert that Desmaretz, wishing to flatter the Cardinal, gave in this passage "la description exacte du château de Richelieu." Neither he, nor Reibetanz⁶ and Léopold Lacour,⁷ who make similar assertions, thought it necessary to indicate on what grounds their statements were based. They may have thought there was proof enough in the fact that Desmaretz gave a more elaborate description of the same building and its grounds in his *Promenades de Richelieu* of 1653. Let us see whether a comparison of the verses in *Les Visionnaires* with what we know of the château will confirm their hypothesis.

When Richelieu had become the master of France, he decided to exalt his family by enlarging and rendering magnificent the dwelling

⁴ *Histoire du théâtre françois*, v, 394-404.

⁵ *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest*, II (1836), 238.

⁶ *Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 25, 49.

⁷ *Richelieu Dramaturge*, Paris (1925), p. 69.

in which he had spent the early years of his life.⁸ He had the estate made into a "duché-pairie" in August, 1631. He constructed a small town, laid off with great regularity—an ancestor of Green Belt,—and he had Jacques Le Mercier build him a vast château that held within it the modest building in which he had resided as a child. A good idea of this château, its approaches, its gardens, and its park can be obtained from the engravings of J. Marot,⁹ Desmaretz's *Promenades de Richelieu*, and the article by Chergé to which I have referred.

A long avenue with four rows of trees led to a half-moon, about 160 feet in diameter, which opened on a rectangular *basse-cour*, about 384 feet wide by 339 in depth. On the left of this *basse-cour* was a smaller court for the "escuries du commun a mettre cent cheuaux, les Granges, Fenil et logement des Jardiniers et autres gens de trauail"; on the right of the *basse-cour* was one for the "Fourrieres, Fenil, escuries, Boulangerie et ménagerie." After crossing the *basse-cour*, one entered an *avant-cour*, somewhat smaller, but still imposing as it was about 302 feet wide by 242 in depth. There was a fountain in the middle. On either side was a large building surmounted by a dome and ending in pavilions. Beyond this *avant-court* was the moat that surrounded the château itself and its inner court. To cross it one made use of a drawbridge attached to the grand portal. This entrance was a handsome structure with statues of Hercules and Mars in niches on either side of the door. Above this door was a statue of Louis XIII with a jasper column on either side and a dome above, surmounted by a statue of Fame. From within, this portal showed Doric columns and niches with other statues.

The visitor who had passed through this portal found himself in a court about 218 feet by 186. Across from the entrance was the

⁸ According to a seventeenth-century tradition, believed by J. Marot, Tallemant des Réaux, La Fontaine, and Mlle de Montpensier, it was Richelieu's birthplace, but Hanotaux (*Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu* (1932), I, 63-5), though he takes their evidence into consideration, has shown that there is better reason to believe that he was born in Paris. So far as this article is concerned, it is unimportant whether his affection for the place came from the fact that he was born there or from his spending there most of his early youth.

⁹ *Le magnifique chasteau de Richelieu*, published about 1660. There is a copy of it in the Library of Congress.

main building, crowned by a dome. The portion of it to the left of the dome was the old Richelieu château. Wings, projecting at right angles to the main building, enclosed two sides of this inner court. Like the main building, they carried small domes and ended in pavilions. They were connected with the grand portal by terraces that supported balustrades. Between each two windows of the second floor there were, both in the main building and in the wings, niches containing statues, below which, in the wall of the first floor, were niches lodging busts. There were about a hundred statues and busts, most of them ancient, but including two statues of captives by Michelangelo. The interior of the château was decorated with many paintings, among them canvases by Poussin and Perugino. Behind the building was a parterre, a fountain that shows two sea-horses and a god, other statues, a field, a forest, canals, etc.

Now let us compare what is known of the château with the description in *Les Visionnaires*. Richelieu's château, like Phalante's, had been the home of his ancestors and could be considered a "lieu de plaisir." In both cases there are four rows of trees along the drive; on either side of an outer court are smaller courts leading to buildings used in the work of the estate; the château is surrounded by a moat; there is an elaborate entrance that resembles an "arc de triomphe entouré de trophées"; there is a terrace with balustrades; the main building is slightly higher than the wings; there are pavilions; Doric columns are employed; there are "cent figures antiques" and a gallery of paintings. Behind Richelieu's château there was a fountain with a sea-horse and a figure that may well be, as in the play, a god's.

On the other hand, there are certain discrepancies. Desmaretz mentions only one outer court instead of the two shown in Marot's engravings. He exaggerates the dimensions of the inner court. He makes no mention of the *demi-lune*. He describes three "portes de porphyre, et de jaspe" instead of one. He refers to the workmanship as "rustique," as Marot does not do. The last two difficulties may, however, be easily explained. According to Richelet, to "rustiquer" a stone is to "la piquer avec la pointe du marteau seulement, au lieu de la polir." This type of finish may have existed without being shown in the engravings. In describing the ornamented entrance, Desmaretz may have meant by the three "portes" the three

niches in which were placed the statues of Hercules, Mars, and Louis XIII. The question of the courts and the *demi-lune* remains to be considered.

As the play was acted early in 1637, it was probably composed in 1636. When Mlle de Montpensier visited Richelieu in 1637, at the age of ten, she pronounced it the most magnificent château that could be found, but she said nothing about the outer courts or the *demi-lune*.¹⁰ The earliest evidence we have of their existence is given by Desmaretz's *Promenades de Richelieu* of 1653 and by Marot's engravings.¹¹ Although, in the title of the latter work, the château is said to have been "commencé et achevé" by the Cardinal, an *Au Lecteur* declares that he had "laissé quelque chose d'imparfait à cet Edifice" and that the duc de Richelieu, the Cardinal's heir, "l'a fait achever," which means that work on the château was not completed until after 1642. It should be noted, too, that, out of some 145 lines devoted to the description, only 12 are concerned with the interior of the château, that more verses are devoted to the park and gardens than to the buildings, and that the most detailed descriptions are those of the fountains. These facts suggest that Desmaretz or his informant had visited the place before its complete development. It is quite possible that at that time the *avant-cour* and the *basse-cour* were one and that no *demi-lune* had been constructed.

I conclude that Desmaretz's description is not "exacte," as Clergé asserted that it was, but that it is about as faithful as could be expected in view of the facts that the outer courts may not have been completed at the time he wrote the play and that he was composing a comedy, not a guide-book.

Now it may be asked whether his desire to please Richelieu interfered with his art, whether d'Aubignac¹² was justified in considering the descriptive passage much too lengthy. It should be noted that the play, as the author conceived it, is one in which the comic element is far more important than the plot. We are not eager to learn how things will turn out, but we are amused by the procession

¹⁰ Cf. her *Mémoires*, edition of Michaud et Poujoulat, p. 7.

¹¹ The date assigned to them, 1660, may not be correct, but they could not have been published before 1643 as the duc de Richelieu, to whom they are dedicated, is called "General des Galeres," an office that he did not hold until that year; cf. Jal's *Dictionnaire*.

¹² *Pratique du théâtre*, Martino edition, Paris, 1927, pp. 182, 293.

of "visionnaires" and, in Phalante's case, by the contrast between his boasting of his wealth, reenforced by his intimate knowledge of his supposed estate, and the extremely slight chance he has of inheriting this piece of property or any other. The more splendid the château and its grounds, the more detailed the description, the greater the fun. At the same time Desmaretz was restrained by his respect for verisimilitude. He was not a Romantic poet. He did not feel free to depict "A sunny pleasure-dome with caves of ice." He tells us in his *Argument* that in the description of the château "il ne se trouve rien d'extraordinaire, et qui ne soit imaginé selon la vray-semblance." According to this conception of his art, the best way to meet the demands of comedy without appearing over fanciful was to select as a model a magnificent, but real château. When he did so, he must have been highly pleased to find that he could simultaneously compose a comic scene, keep within the bounds of reason, and gratify his illustrious patron.¹³

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

NOTE ON GÉRARD DE NERVAL'S *OCTAVIE*

The life and dreams of Gérard de Nerval are the warp and woof in the many-colored tapestry of his writings. In *Octavie*, the central thread in the tale is the letter he presumably wrote to the singer Jenny Colon in 1837, in which he narrated an episode of his trip to Naples three years earlier. After her death, on June 5, 1842, he published it together with five other of his love letters, under the heading *Un Roman à faire*, in *La Sylphide* of December of the same year, ascribing them all to a "chevalier Dubourget." But he republished the same letter alone over his own name, and under the caption *L'Illusion*, in *L'Artiste*, on July 6, 1845; and he singled it out again eight years later, in 1853, to weave around it the story of *Octavie*.

The text of the letter remained virtually the same in all three published forms; it purports to divulge to his beloved one a strange

¹³ It is even possible that the patron himself may have given him a hint. This hypothesis would have more weight if one could trust the *Segraisiana*, which asserts that Richelieu gave Desmaretz "le dessein des Visionnaires"; cf. the frères Parfaict, *op. cit.*, v, 388-9.

adventure which happened to him during his brief sojourn in Naples, in October of the year 1834. In substance, it recalls his wandering alone through the streets of the town late one night after he had attended a performance of the ballet at the San Carlo theater, when he came upon a young Venetian embroiderer of church apparel whom, because of her extraordinary resemblance to the lady of his heart, he had escorted to her own home. "Il me prit fantaisie," he confesses, "de m'étourdir tout un soir, et de m'imaginer que cette femme, dont je comprenais à peine le langage, était vous-même, descendue à moi par enchantement."¹

But under the influence of the sparkling *lacrima christi* he had drunk at supper, the apartment he was in, and everything in it, including the hostess, finally acquired in his eyes a mysterious appearance, and his narrative of the event reflects this transformation. A black madonna, dressed in faded finery, stood on a chest of drawers. Further away, a statue of Saint Rosalie crowned with roses seemed to protect a sleeping child in his cradle. The white-washed walls were hung with old pictures of mythological divinities. Bright stuffs and artificial flowers cluttered the place; and on a table lay a treatise on soothsaying which classed the woman as a sorceress or a gypsy. After a while she began to speak in a strange, guttural language he could not understand; and with her tinsel jewelry, false stones, necklaces and bracelets on, she looked to him then like one of those Thessalian sorceresses to whom one bartered one's soul for a dream.

Tearing himself away from that obsessing scene, he had rushed into the deserted streets, and up the Pausilippe. Slowly the fumes of the night had lifted from his head; but soon despair and the image of death crept into his heart as he reflected that, his evening adventure notwithstanding, he was not loved, and the only creature he cared for was four hundred leagues away, and did not even suspect his very existence. The thought of suicide crossed his mind then. Twice he was moved to leap into the sea below; but an unknown power held him back, and, gratefully, he threw himself upon the ground and kissed it.

The story is consonant with what we know of Gérard's inner

¹ *Les Filles du Feu*—Nouvelles. Texte établi et annoté avec une étude critique par Nicolas I. Popa. Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931, 1, 270.

climate. Did he, however, experience the full gamut of sensations from love to the longing for death in that one swift night, and is his account authentic, or does it contain allusions to other and later emotional experiences? A solution to this problem has been propounded by M. Pierre Audiat,² based on what he regards as internal and documentary evidence. The latter consists of two rough drafts of Gérard's letter, found in the Collection Spoelberch de Lovenjoul,³ which give a variant of his Neapolitan adventure. It describes his casual meeting with the Venetian embroiderer, whom he escorts home after allaying her fears of being surprised in the morning by her Swiss-guard lover with his promise to stay awake all night long. Overcome with sleep, however, he is startled out of it by the ringing of morning bells, so that he has to dress in the twinkling of an eye, and rush out into the streets while he is still half asleep, and then up to the Pausilippe, and on to his suicide impulse which he narrates then as in *Octavie*.

Thus the strangely romantic setting, brooding atmosphere and weird appearance of the woman in the latter account give way in the Lovenjoul variant to a story which is simple and lighthearted and which contrasts with the gloomy suicidal aftermath of it—a disharmony that is obviated in the *Octavie* version to a large extent. "Nous sommes loin du texte de 1837," says M. Audiat,⁴ crediting the latter, the supposedly earlier version, with what is to him more logic and appropriateness in its expression. He points out, in this respect, Gérard's declaration in *Octavie*: "O Dieu! je ne sais quelle profonde tristesse habitait mon âme, mais ce n'était autre chose que la pensée cruelle que *je n'étais pas aimé*,"⁵ as illustration, observing that in 1837 Gérard could not have complained that he was not loved three years before, for he had not then declared his love; whereas the Lovenjoul text has the variant: "mais ce n'était autre chose que la pensée cruelle que *je ne serais pas aimé*,"⁶ which seems to him, at least, "vraisemblable."⁷

² *L'Aurelia de Gérard de Nerval*. Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926, pp. 77-85, 104-110.

³ *Correspondance autographe de Gérard de Nerval*, D. 740, fol. 10 r^o, v^o and 12. Cf. *Les Filles du Feu*, I, 401-404; II, 251-252.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁵ *Les Filles du Feu*—Nouvelles, I, 273.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 403.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

The argument is specious, however, for it was perfectly true that "he was not loved" in 1834, and so he could very well have written so in 1837, but it is not true that he could have prophesied then that he "would never be loved." Hence the internal evidence for declaring the Lovenjoul document the original 1837 version of the letter is, at best, inconclusive. M. Audiat has a trump card for his case, however. In effect, upon the verso of one of Gérard's letters to Aurélia in the Collection Lovenjoul, the one beginning with: "Souvenez-vous, oublieuse personne," Gérard had written a rough draft of a letter to a certain Duchâtre or Duchatel, in which he requested a service in favor of Jenny Colon. "Vous savez," he wrote, "que j'ai fait avec Dumas le poème d'un opéra en trois actes dont le succès a été fort modéré, car nous sommes arrêtés après vingt-cinq représentations. Nous avons dû beaucoup au talent de notre Prima Donna, Mlle Colon qui est devenue aujourd'hui une de nos meilleures cantatrices. . . ." The opera in question was *Piquillo*, which closed early in December 1837. Accordingly, M. Audiat deduces correctly that the draft of the letter under discussion must date from late November or early December, 1837. "Si l'on admet que la lettre à Jenny et la requête de Gérard sont contemporaines," he adds, "il faut conclure que l'ensemble des lettres à Aurélia qui se succèdent rapidement, précède ou suit de peu le mois de novembre 1837."⁸

From this reasoning it follows that the letter which concerns us here was also written on the same date. Unfortunately, there are now extant, as we have seen, two versions of this letter: the one which Gérard himself published repeatedly, the last time in *Octavie*, and the other in the Collection Lovenjoul. M. Audiat does not hesitate to identify the latter as the original version of 1837,⁹ upon the premises we have just reviewed. Other critics, following on his footsteps, have accepted it likewise, witness M. Nicolas I. Popa, who has reproduced it in its entirety in his scholarly edition of *Les Filles du Feu*, besides giving a photographic facsimile of part of it with the caption: "Lettre de Gérard de Nerval à Jenny Colon (1837). Premier état d'*Octavie*."¹⁰

However, there is reason to believe that the manuscript in the Lovenjoul collection does not constitute the original draft of the

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35, note 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁰ I, 401-404; 272-273 (inset); II, 36-37.

letter. The evidence *saute aux yeux*, and can be read in the body of the document itself. Here is what Gérard says in it:

J'avais fait rencontre à la Villa Reale d'une Vénitienne qui vous ressemblait, une très bonne femme dont l'état était de faire des broderies d'or pour les églises. Le soir, nous étions allés voir *Buondelmonte* à San Carlo, et puis nous avons soupé très galement au café d'Europe.¹¹

This simple statement affords a precious indication; it fixes beyond cavil the date at which it was written, which could only have been the same as, or posterior to, that of the production of *Buondelmonte*. Now this opera by Giovanni Pacini was first produced in Florence in 1845.¹² Manifestly, to speak of the letter in which Gérard refers to it as of 1837 is an anachronism. Curiously enough, M. Nicolas I. Popa describes *Buondelmonte* as an "opéra italien de Pacini, représenté à Florence, en 1844,"¹³ but nevertheless continues to refer to the text that speaks of it as of 1837.

We conclude that the manuscript in the Collection Spelberch de Lovenjoul cannot be the original version of Gérard's third letter in *Un Roman à faire*, but must be regarded as a variant written on or after 1845. Its account of the Neapolitan adventure cannot be anterior but posterior to that in *Octavie*. Gérard could not have referred to an as yet non-existent opera in 1837, and he did not then, nor in 1842, in 1845, or in 1853, in the only version of the letter he published, and which turns out to be chronologically the more authentic of the two.

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DIDEROT AND CHIEF LOGAN'S SPEECH (FRONTIÈRES DE VIRGINIE)

Chief Logan's famous speech delivered to Lord Dunmore, of Virginia, was printed in several American newspapers during

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 402. Cf. Audiart, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹² Cf. F. J. Fétis. *Biographie universelle des musiciens*. Paris, 1875; Alfred Loewensberg, *Annals of the Opera*. Cambridge & New York, 1943, p. 431. The *Dictionnaire Lyrique ou Histoire des Opéras* by Félix Clément and Pierre Larousse gives the date as 1844.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, II, 252. Cf. note 12.

February, 1775,¹ from a copy supplied by James Madison. It gained even greater prominence in Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1782), and by the 1850's its sombre burden, "Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one," was familiar to every school-boy exposed to McGuffey's *Fourth* and *Fifth Reader*. By 1802, French versions of the speech had been published in French journals, in the works of Raynal, Robin, Mandrillon, Bayard, and Bonnet, as well as in Morellet's translation of Jefferson's *Notes*.²

Among the transcripts of unpublished Diderot items in Russia presented by Howyn de Tranchère to Assézat and Tourneux, was a brief piece bearing the caption *Frontières de Virginie* (10 mars 1775) *Gazette de France*. Not recognizing this to be a straightforward translation of an established classic, Diderot's editors published among his miscellaneous works this belated specimen of Logan's speech.³ Oddly enough, they failed even to locate the source of this translation despite the clue given in the title. "Est-ce un extrait de la *Gazette*?" they ask. "Est-ce une amplification de Diderot? Nous avons vainement cherché dans le volume de 1775 un passage qui nous renseignât à cet égard."⁴ Further obscurity arose when Tourneux, in cataloguing the Diderot manuscripts in the Imperial Library (St. Petersburg), erroneously reported the date of *Frontières de Virginie* as "4 mars 1775."⁵ Momentarily on the track of the true identification (though not Diderot's source) of the Logan speech, Tourneux added: ". . . cette indication, fournie par le manuscrit, est inexacte: tout le passage se retrouve dans l'*Histoire philosophique* . . . , par Raynal. . . ."⁶

In all this, however, there is no mystification whatsoever. Diderot had stated his source correctly, for Logan's speech was printed in

¹ For example, in the *Pennsylvania Journal* (Feb. 1), *The Pennsylvania Ledger* (Feb. 11), *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer* (Feb. 16), and *The New-York Gazette* (Feb. 20).

² An article in preparation will describe in more detail the history of Logan's speech in France.

³ *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, ed. J. Assézat and M. Tourneux. Paris, Garnier, 1876, xvii, 503-504.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 503 n.

⁵ Maurice Tourneux, "Les Manuscrits de Diderot conservés en Russie. . .," *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, III^e série, xii (1885), 450.

⁶ Logan's speech appears in Raynal for the first time in the third edition (Genève, 1780, ix, 76-77).

the *Gazette de France* on April 21, 1775, with the heading *Des Frontières de la Virginie, le 10 mars 1775*; he doubtless copied the article as an interesting example of American Indian eloquence, with no thought of publishing it in the *Correspondance de Grimm*⁷ or elsewhere.⁸ Its presence in the Assézat edition resulted solely from the failure of the editors to scrutinize carefully the *Gazette* of 1775.

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OLD FRENCH HERLUÏN

Mr. Leo Spitzer in a recent article in *Studies in Philology*, xli (October 1944) 521 f., traces the history of English *harlot* and connects it ultimately in convincing fashion with King Herla and the Wild Host, through one of the compound Germanic names formed on Herla such as *Herle-win* (*Herle-kin*). He shows that the middle French *hapax arlouyn* (rhyme: *gain*) 'pimp,' found in the 'Jargon' ballads attributed to Villon, is merely the name *Herlewin*. The first trace of *Herlewin* is to be found in the Anglo-French cleric Peter of Blois "who in 1178 denounced *nostri curiales* (i. e. the English courtiers) as *milites Herlewini*." *Milites Herlewini* has been explained by Kemp Malone as 'friends of Herla' (O. E. *wine* = friends),¹ i. e. members of the Wild Host = 'demons, devils' > rascals. Middle French *arlouyn* 'pimp' represents simply a further stage of degeneration in meaning, as Mr. Spitzer explains it.

If *Herlewin* is represented in Romance and French proper names

⁷ *Œuvres*, xvii, 474.

⁸ The passage in the *Œuvres* follows closely that in the *Gazette*, with three exceptions: the Shawanese Nation becomes the "Schawanches," Colonel Cressop becomes "Colonel Cressap" (the correct spelling is Cresap), and "Qui reste-t-il pour pleurer Logan?" becomes "Que reste-t-il . . ." Considering that the answer to Logan's query is "Personne," this reading seems unsatisfactory; yet it is repeated later in the versions of both Raynal and Mandrillon.

¹ *English Studies*, xvii (1935) 140, "Herlekin and Herlewin" which explains briefly and decisively the origin of *mesnie Hellequin* about which so many futile conjectures have been made.

of the Middle Ages,² its use as a common noun has been attested only in the *arlouyn* of the fifteenth century Jargon ballad. It is interesting to note, therefore, that *herluin* figures as a common noun in a French literary text of about 1250. It has not been recorded by the Old French dictionaries. The word occurs toward the end of the *fabliau* *La Veuve* of Gautier Le Leu in a manuscript³ (M) which has not been used for editorial purposes. The verse in which it occurs has been omitted in the Turin manuscript of *La Veuve* which served Scheler and more recently, Montaiglon and Raynaud⁴ for their editions of the *fabliau*. The new manuscript is superior throughout to the text of the *fabliau* as printed and fills in *lacunae* which are numerous towards the end. The author, Gautier Le Leu, beginning with verse 573 (M)⁵ pleads for peace at any price in the household between husband and wife:

- 573 Car se me feme me dist lait,
Se je m'en vois, ele le lait;
Et qui dont le volroit respondre,
576 Il feroit folie despondre.
Encor vient mels que je m'en voise
Que je le fiere d'une boisse.
Segnor, qui estes *auduïn*
Et gilleeur et *herluïn*,
580 Ne soies de rien en esmai;
Li *auduïn* ont meilleur mai
Q'aient li felon combatant
Qui les noisses vont esbatant.

The author (verses 578-79) seems to mention three types of husband 1) *auduïn*: those who love peace in the household at any cost.⁶ 2) *gilleeur*: those who practice deceit and subterfuge in

² For French Spitzer cites E. Langlois, *Table des noms propres—dans les chansons de geste*, Paris, 1904: *Herluin*, *Helluin*, *Arluin*, *Herlin*, as epic names of Christian and Saracen knights.

³ The manuscript described on p. 233 f. of the *Report of the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton preserved in Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire (Historical Manuscripts Commission)*, Hereford, 1911. *Herluïn* is found on folio 341 recto a.

⁴ *Recueil général des fabliaux* II (1877), p. 197 f.

⁵ Cf. Mont. et Rayn., *op. cit.*, II, p. 213, v. 491 f.

⁶ Poem XVII of the *Chansons et dits artésiens* of Jeanroy et Guy treats in a humorous and satirical vein the creation of a "carité (confrérie) d'Auduïns," i. e. peace-loving and submissive husbands. It is possible that *Auduïn* is an adaptation of the name of Sanctus Aldoenus. In the

domestic affairs. 3) *herluin*: those who, in contrast to the others, are violent and noisy. The *herluin* seem to be alluded to in verses 582-583: *li felon combatant Qui les noisses vont esbatant*.

Herluin of our passage adds to the vocabulary of Old French a thirteenth century example of the word used as a common noun, and its sense 'one who is violent and noisy' is closely to be associated with King Herla and the Wild Host, the company of damned souls come from Hell, whose passage was accompanied by din and clatter.⁷ Furthermore *herluin*, applying to husbands who treat their wives with violence and noise, represents an interesting evolution in sense towards *arlouyn* 'pimp' of the fifteenth century Jargon ballads.

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SPENSER'S CONNECTIONS WITH HAMPSHIRE

This paper is concerned with two minor points in Spenser's life. Long ago I became interested in Samuel Woodford's statement to Aubrey that Spenser had spent some time in Hampshire and written some of his poetry there. More recently my curiosity was aroused as to how Spenser was connected with Andrew Reade, from whom he obtained the estate of Kilcolman, when the latter appar-

"chansons et dits artésiens" figure a number of facetious 'confréries' placed under the protection of saints whose names are either deformed or imaginary. The life of Aldoenus (St. Ouen) was peaceful and its most important event was the negotiation of a truce between Neustria and Austrasia. In satire XVII (v. 99) an *Auduin* is defined: *Cou est un hom qui het bataille*. In another satire of the same collection, XVIII, v. 161, *auduin* is employed in the same sense as a common noun. Cf. *Elnol* 'cocu,' a proper noun used as a common noun in the fabliau *Connebert* (Montaignon et Raynaud, *Recueil général*, v, 164, v. 112) and the "confrérie" of Saint Ernoul, le seigneur des cous, *Roman de la Rose* (ed. Langlois, S. A. T. F.) 9131 f. [this Ernoul is the ancestor of Molière's Arnolphe; for parallel semantic developments cf. Fr. *mari jobard* and *amdré 'cocu'* in Migliorini, *Dal nome proprio al nome comune*, pass.; on the name *Aldoenus*, *Andoenus*, *Odoenus* cf. Longnon's edition of the *Polyptique . . . de l'Abbé Irminon*, p. 286.—L. Sp.]

⁷ Professor Spitzer's conjecture that O. F. *herla*, *hierle*, *helle* may be a regressive formation from a verb **herlouiner* finds support in *herluin* 'one who is violent and noisy' in our thirteenth century text.

ently had not been in Ireland and Spenser, as far as we know, had been absent from England for eight years. Only very recently have I discovered that the answer to both these questions lies in the northwest corner of Hampshire.

In the records relating to the settlers of the confiscated Desmond lands in Munster the first holder of Kilcolman is referred to as Andrew Reade of Facombe, Hants.¹ Reference to large-scale maps shows that Facombe is close to the Berkshire border, about fifteen miles northwest of Basingstoke. The *Victoria County History of Hampshire* reveals that Reade was not a native of Facombe—indeed it appears that he was not a native of Hampshire at all—but had bought several estates in Facombe and Linkenholt, the next town, in 1577, 1579 and 1585. The records of the Middle Temple, to which he was admitted in 1574, state that he was the son and heir apparent of John Reade of Farnham, Surrey. Neither county histories nor genealogies give any information on his father. Andrew apparently became a lawyer, for the Middle Temple records note the entrance of his son Henry in 1589 as “bound with his father.” His son Robert was admitted in the following year.² Andrew Reade died in 1623. From the fact that his fourth son, John, was born at Facombe in 1579³ we may guess that he was married in the early 'seventies.

We may now ask how Reade became interested in the Munster lands and what his connection with Spenser was. To these questions several possible answers may be found. Two prominent members of the Middle Temple in the 'eighties were Sir John Popham and Richard Wallop, brother of Sir Henry Wallop. Both were interested in these lands, Popham directly on his own account and Wallop through his brother, who was one of the commissioners. The principal commissioner, however, was Sir Thomas Norris, whose secretary Spenser was. Either Popham or Wallop may have interested Reade in obtaining a grant, but the connection with Spenser probably came through Norris or Sir Henry Wallop. It is

¹ R. Heffner, “Spenser's Acquisition of Kilcolman,” *MLN.*, XLVI, 493-498.

² C. H. Hopwood, *Middle Temple Records*, London, 1904, I, 200, 213, 304, 312.

³ Compton Reade, *Account of the Reades of Barton Court*, Hereford, 1899, p. 122; see also article by J. M. Reade in *Athenaeum*, March 24, 1894. It appears that Andrew Reade was an ancestor of George Washington.

of course possible that the last two knew Reade, or knew of him through legal circles in London, but it seems more likely that geographical proximity was the link. To begin with Spenser's employer, Sir Thomas Norris, we know that he married the daughter of Sir William Kingsmill of Sydmonton some time after 1587.⁴ Sydmonton is six miles from Faccombe. Norris's own home was at Rycote in Oxfordshire, thirty miles north.

A more likely link is that with Sir Henry Wallop.⁵ The Wallops were a Hampshire family, and Sir Henry's residence was at Farleigh Wallop, which is between Basingstoke and Alton and is fifteen miles southeast of Faccombe. He also owned land in Kingsclere, eight miles from Faccombe and only two miles from Sydmonton. He had served on a commission with Sir William Kingsmill in 1569. Spenser's life in Ireland had inevitably thrown him often into contact with Sir Henry, whose wife is praised in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*.⁶ If he did act as intermediary between Spenser and Reade, he was probably serving two friends at once. Reade had been assigned the estate on March 14, 1587, and on April 26 was appointed to a commission to hear disputes about the lands, a commission on which he seems not to have served. The settlers were supposed to proceed to Ireland and settle English farmers on their estates, but those who attempted to do so were harrassed by governmental delays and by difficulties in gaining possession of their lands.⁷ In particular, Lord Roche had entered suit to claim the Kilcolman land as his own, which would have prevented any Englishman from acquiring it under the Desmond forfeiture. There is no evidence that Reade made any attempt to settle the land himself; in fact, Sir John Popham implied that Reade had not done so when he reported to the government on March 4, 1589, that Reade held Kilcolman but he did not know what he had done with

⁴ DNB., article on Thomas Norris.

⁵ For Wallop's career in Ireland and connections with Spenser see DNB., F. I. Carpenter, *Reference Guide to Spenser*, Chicago, 1923, and D. Atkinson, *Edmund Spenser: a Bibliographical Supplement*, Baltimore, 1937.

⁶ See Renwick's note in his edition of *Daphnida and other Poems*, London, 1929, p. 188. I find that he has anticipated my suggestion below that Spenser visited at Farleigh Wallop, but does not deal with the material here presented.

⁷ R. Dunlop, "The Plantation of Munster, 1584-1589," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, III, 263.

it. This document, incidentally, makes it certain that Popham was not the connecting link between Reade and Spenser, for it has been shown that Spenser had already occupied Kilcolman by this date.⁸

We may assume, I think that Sir Henry Wallop was aware—probably through his brother—by the end of 1588 or even earlier that Reade was not inclined to carry out the terms of settlement and that he suggested the transfer of the property to Spenser, who, being on the spot and in a strong political position, was ready to settle the land and fight the claims of Lord Roche. One would suppose that Reade, in spite of his discouragement, must have expected and received some payment in exchange for his grant, but of this no record has survived. In answering the questionnaire sent out by the government in 1589, Spenser stated that he had agreed to surrender the estate to Reade if the latter took possession before May 22 of that year. Since Reade did not do so the estate became Spenser's by agreement at that time. The patent for it was issued on October 26, 1590, during Spenser's visit to England.

To complete this Hampshire picture we must add the picaresque figure of Sir Nicholas Dawtrey, once claimed as the original of Falstaff.⁹ Strange as it may seem to a modern mind, this penniless but irrepressible swashbuckler was among those said by Lodowick Bryskett to have been present at his literary meeting near Dublin early in the eighties when Spenser was asked to expound the moral virtues. More characteristic is the record that at about this time (*circa* 1584) he owed Spenser £13/6/8. At any rate he was listed in the Visitation of Sussex as of Woodcot, Hants., only six miles south of Facombe.¹⁰ Dawtrey was in Hampshire in 1588 engaged in surveying the defenses of the country, but it is unlikely that he had anything to do with the transfer of Spenser's estate. Furthermore, I can find no trace of him in the records concerning Woodcot or its vicinity.

Let us now return to Woodford's statement. Aubrey says:¹¹

⁸ For material in this and the next paragraph see Heffner's article cited above.

⁹ John Dawtrey, *The Falstaff Saga*, London, 1927.

¹⁰ Harleian Society, LIII, 31. For the debt to Spenser see Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

¹¹ J. Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, Oxford, 1898, II, 232-233.

Mr. Samuel Woodford the poet, who paraphras'd the Psalmes, lives in Hampshire near Alton, and he told me that Mr. Spenser lived sometime in these parts, in this delicate sweet ayre; where he enjoyed his muse and writ good part of his verses.

Now Aubrey's accounts are usually more reliable than they are given credit for, and I have long felt sure that there must have been some basis for this rather exaggerated piece of local pride. From the material presented above I think we may construct a reasonable supposition that Spenser did in truth "spend some time in these parts" and that he wrote some of his verses there, even if not "good part." Woodford lived near Alton, a town only five miles from Wallop's residence at Farleigh Wallop. Sir Henry left Ireland in March, 1589, and remained in England six years. He was therefore in residence during all of Spenser's visit to England in 1589-1591. During this visit Spenser composed a good deal of poetry. The *Complaints* volume was ready for the printer in December of 1590; although it contains much older material, parts of it were written that summer. *Daphnaida*, an elegy on the death of Douglas Howard, which took place August 13, 1590, was written between that date and January 1, 1591, when the dedication was signed. Besides this it is perfectly possible that some parts of the last three books of the *Faerie Queene* were undertaken before his return to Ireland. If we suppose that Spenser made a visit of a month or so to Sir Henry Wallop in the early autumn of 1590 and that he wrote *Daphnaida* there, to take the most probable of the three, it would coincide very well with Woodford's statement. The local fame of the visit of a great poet would easily have lasted until 1673, the date of Woodford's appointment to the parish of Hartley Maudit, especially as descendants of Sir Henry were still resident at Farleigh Wallop. Indeed, if Spenser had never visited the vicinity, it is difficult to imagine why the story should have been told at all.

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A MANUSCRIPT OF POPE'S IMITATION OF THE FIRST
ODE OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF HORACE

Through the good offices of Mr. W. S. Lewis, I have recently come on a manuscript in Spence's hand of Pope's imitation of the First Ode of the Fourth Book of Horace.¹ The manuscript version seems to me sufficiently different in text and orthography from the published poem to warrant a transcription below.² Differences in the text that affect the meaning I have noted by placing the readings of the first edition at the foot of the page.

Hor: Lib:4. Od:1.³ Imitated, by Mr Pope.

Again! New Tumults in my breast?	
Ah spare me, Venus! Let me, let me rest!	
I am not now, alas, the man	
As in the glorious Reign of my Queen Anne.	
Ah, sound no more your soft alarms;	5
Nor circle sober Fifty with your charms.	
Mother too fierce of Dear Desires,	
Turn, turn to willing hearts your wanton fires;	
To Number five direct your Doves:	
There spread round Murray all yr blooming Loves;	10
Noble, & Young, who wins the heart	

1. Again! / Again?
4. glorious / gentle
5. your / the
6. your / thy
11. wins / strikes

¹ The MS. was found by Mr. Lewis, laid in a copy of Spence's *Parallel*, Strawberry-Hill, 1758, which is now in his library at Farmington, Connecticut. It consists of one sheet folded so as to make 4 pages of small 4° size. The writing covers all 4 pages, the Latin appearing on pp. 4 and 2 (in that order), the English on pp. 1 and 3. It is a fair copy of the poem without corrections. One curious point in Spence's version of the Latin is that l. 20 contains the unusual *Cypria* reading instead of the *citrea* printed by Pope.

I take this opportunity to thank Mr. Lewis for his courtesy in permitting me to use the manuscript.

² I have omitted the numberings that Spence places beside the Latin and English as guides from the one to the other.

³ In the manuscript this first part of the title heads the Latin poem and the second part the English.

With evry sprightly, every decent part: Equal the injurd to defend; To charm the Mistress; or to fix the Friend; He with a hundred arts refind,	15
Shall stretch his Conquest over half the kind; To him each rival shall submit, Make but his Riches equal to his Wit: Then shall thy Form the marble grace, Thy Grecian Form; & Chloe lend the Face.	20
His House, imbossom'd in the Grove, His House, thy Temple, sacred still to Love, Shall glitter o'er the pendent Green; Whilst Thames reflects the Visionary Scene. Thither the silver-sounding Lyres	25
Shall call the smiling Loves & young Desires; There every Grace & Muse shall throng; Exalt the Dance & animate the Song; There Youths & Nymphs, in consort gay, Salute the coming, close the parting day.	30
With me, alas, those joys are o'er! For me, the vernal Garlands bloom no more: Adieu, fond Hope of mutual Fire; The still believing, still renewd Desire!	35
Adieu, the Heart-expanding Bowl; And all the kind deceivers of the soul! But why, ah tell me, still too dear! Steals down my cheek th' involuntary Tear? Why words so flowing, Thoughts so free, Stop, or turn Nonsense, at one glance of Thee.	40
Thee, drest in Fancy's airy Beam, Absent I follow thro' th' extended Dream: Now, now, I grasp, I seize thy charms; And now you burst, ah Cruel! from my arms: Now swiftly shoot along the Mall, Or softly glide by the Canal:	45
Now, shown by Cynthia's sylver ray; And now on rolling waters snatch'd away.	

16. his Conquest / thy Conquests
22. / Sacred to Social Life and Social Love
24. Whilst / Where
28. & / or
30. Salute the coming / shall hail the rising
37. still / ah
43. I grasp, I seize / I seize, I clasp
45. Now / And

Spence's manuscript is undated, but the probabilities in the case suggest that it represents an earlier state of the text than that of the printed editions.⁴ It seems unlikely, in the first place, that Spence would copy off a corrected version of a poem already in print without making some note to this effect; and in the second, that the corrected version, if it were one, should neither have been printed in Pope's lifetime nor placed at the disposal of Warburton. Furthermore, it is plain that most of the readings of the printed text excerpted above are in the nature of improvements. In l. 16 the phrasing *thy Conquests* not only moves the line closer to the Latin (*Late signa feret militiae tuae*) than the other reading, but functions doubly in retaining the focus of the poem upon Venus while it subtilizes the compliment to Murray. The poem is similarly bettered by the printed version of l. 22, where Pope allows the word *sacred* (and the situation of Murray's house, in a grove) to suggest everything that the manuscript line states—and states redundantly—with its house-temple figure. The printed variants *thy* (ll. 5 and 6),⁵ *where* (l. 24), *ah* (l. 37), *And* (l. 45) all tend to eliminate repetitious or cacophonous expressions, or to intensify the whimsical tenderness of the tone; while the inclusion of *shall* (l. 30) is as clearly demanded by the grammar and rhetoric of the verse paragraph in which it occurs, as the *strikes* of l. 11 is invited by the infinitives of vigorous action (ll. 13-14) and the images of conquest (ll. 16-17), both of which become anti-climactical if Murray has already won all hearts.⁶ Since Pope, as everybody

⁴The poem was published by Pope in (1) a folio pamphlet of 1737, reprinted in a separate octavo; (2) two small octavo editions of his *Works* dated 1738 (for a description of these editions, one of which is not recorded in Professor R. H. Griffith's *Bibliography of Pope*, see "Pope's Horatian Poems: Problems of Bibliography and Text," *MP*, xli (1943), 33-44); (3) the small octavo *Works* of 1740 and 1743. The earlier of the two 1738 octavos prints Murray's name in full (l. 10); all the later editions before Warburton return to "M——y," as in the first edition. All editions except the folio print *thy* for *the* in l. 5, but there are no other revisions.

I have not been able to see a copy of the separate octavo edition, to which, accordingly, the foregoing remarks do not apply.

⁵Only the folio (see above, n. 4) has *tha* in line 5.

⁶The changes in ll. 4 and 43 are similarly happy. In l. 43 the revision substitutes two ideas (seizing and clasping) for what was earlier the same idea repeated (grasping and seizing). In l. 4 the associations of *gentle* are plainly better suited to the air of amatory tenderness already mentioned than are the brilliant and energetic overtones of *glorious*.

knows, was an assiduous refiner of his work, it seems probable that Spence's copy was taken from some late state of the poem which temporarily satisfied the poet, but which he subjected to further correction before publishing it in 1737.⁷ In any case the Spence copy is of value in providing us with one more series of those meticulous corrections which, studied as a whole, will one day lead to a surer understanding of Pope's poetic skill.

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REVIEWS

John Milton's Complete Poetical Works. Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile. A Critical Text Edition Compiled and Edited by HARRIS FRANCIS FLETCHER. Volume I. Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press, 1943. Pp. 465. \$20.

The four volume facsimile edition of Milton's complete poetical works from the University of Illinois is another of the recent contributions that American universities are making to the study of John Milton. The edition commemorates the seventy-fifth year of the University of Illinois; and if the publication of the remaining volumes to be issued extends into 1945, then the work will in a way likewise celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of the first printed book of verse to bear Milton's name.

Volume I "assembles the necessary materials, in print or manuscript, for the study of the authentic texts" of Milton's minor poems, and consequently contains reproductions of all the "regular" and "irregular" seventeenth-century printings of the shorter poems, as well as facsimiles of the British Museum MS. of five songs from *Comus*, the Bodleian MS. of the Ode to Rouse, the

⁷ What I take to be the earliest surviving version of the poem is that reprinted in the *London Magazine* (March, 1737), VI, 158, from the *Whitehall Evening Post*. That version must have appeared in the newspaper during March (I have not been able to consult a complete file to verify this), its insertion inspired by the publication of Pope's folio text on March 9th. Doubtless someone who had possession of an early draft of the poem was moved to make it public on reading Pope's folio and noticing his revisions, particularly the omission of the name of Patty [Blount] in l. 37. Between this text and that which Pope finally published the Spence copy is apparently intermediate.

Bridgewater MS. of *Comus* (reproduced for the first time), and the pertinent parts of the Trinity College MS.¹

The critical apparatus is the work of Professor H. F. Fletcher, who in 1941 published his new text of Milton's complete poems in the revised Cambridge edition. His comparison of some 16 original and 26 photographic copies of the 1673 edition and of 8 original and 25 photographic copies of the 1645 volume testifies to the exhaustiveness of his present study. His textual notes show a minute—in fact, a microscopic—attention to peculiarities of type useful in identifying printers or in establishing the actual readings of the texts. And the modesty with which he speaks of the completeness of his list of variants (p. 1) should not mislead students into feeling that he has slighted this part of his onerous task.² Thus, Miltonists are indebted to Professor Fletcher for a full and clear account of the differences that exist between and within the seventeenth century editions of Milton's minor poems,³ and for a volume that may in many ways serve as a model for future studies of seventeenth century printed poetical texts.

In a work involving so much minute and intricate detail, a reviewer is almost certain to find matters that he will question. Certain inconsistencies of editorial practice⁴ do not increase the use-

¹ Because of the War, the so-called Lawes MS. of the songs from *Comus* was not available for this edition, not even in photographic form. The volume likewise does not include the couplet that Milton penned on the back of the letter from Lawes, now preserved in the British Museum. See Columbia edition, xviii, 266, 536.

² My own collation of a considerable portion of the volume reveals no clear cases of omission and only two instances of error, one of which may be the fault of the printer. On p. 45, the note to l. 1 should read "Methought] Mee thought." On p. 222, the note to l. 46 should begin "luit]" rather than "luit]."

³ Professor Fletcher's textual notes completely supersede those of the Columbia edition of the minor poems, for he shows them to be so incomplete and inaccurate that scholars should no longer depend on them in textual arguments.

⁴ For instance, the editor sometimes gives cross references to the pages of his volume on which reproductions of the Trinity College MS. appear (pp. 26, 27, 41 [Sonnet vii], 43 [Sonnet xiii], 49, 372, 373 [Vane]); on other occasions—often on the same page—where precise references seem equally called for (pp. 27 [At a Solemn Music], 41 [Sonnets viii, ix], 42, 43 [Sonnet xiv], 373 [Skinner]), he fails to do so. The editor states (p. 43) that the Trinity College MS. contains three drafts of Sonnets xiii and xiv, but does not mention (p. 27) that such is also the case with *At a Solemn Music*. He points out (p. 373) that the Trinity College MS. draft of the Vane sonnet is not in Milton's hand; but in the same section (pp. 372-73), he fails to state that such is also the case with the Cromwell and Skinner sonnets, or that the Fairfax sonnet is in Milton's autograph. In all four cases, the sonnets were not regularly printed by Milton himself, and the Trinity College MS. drafts must consequently serve as the basic texts. If the matter of handwriting is important in the one instance, why is it not also significant in the other three? The notes in this section, "Sonnets from Letters of State—1694" are full of repetition and could profitably be condensed.

fulness of the volume as a scholarly tool, and I do not always understand the principle that governs Professor Fletcher's choice of texts for collation.⁵ Even more puzzling, however, is his attitude toward certain of the manuscripts involved in his study. He arbitrarily refuses a place in the Milton canon to the two Latin poems discovered with the *Commonplace Book*.⁶ He will not accept as Milton's handwriting the corrections in the British Museum and University Library copies of the 1638 *Lycidas*.⁷ And he dismisses the Bodleian MS. of the Ode to Rouse as having "no known textual value," and refuses to accord it the distinction of collation with the only other text, the 1673 printing.⁸ In each of these cases, Professor Fletcher has pursued a policy of what I feel to be undue skepticism; and I am consequently surprised when he departs from it in two similar and equally significant instances. Without hesitation, he suggests that the Bridgewater MS. is "likely" a copy "prepared at the instigation of the poet Milton, himself, by one of his father's professional scribes" (p. 300); and his argument for the superiority of the 1673 text rests primarily on the assumption that Milton saw it through the press (p. 1).⁹ All

⁵ He collates, for instance, the Trinity College MS. drafts of Sonnet XIX and *On the New Forcers* (pp. 45, 49), but does not do likewise with Sonnets XI, XII, XIV, and XVIII, 5-14 (pp. 42-45), which also exist in only one printed text, 1673, and in the Trinity College MS. He collates the 1673 version of Sonnet XIII with the "irregular" 1648 printing (p. 43), but not with the Trinity College draft. I also fail to see the reason for collating the 1662 and 1694 "irregular" printings of the Vane Sonnet, when the Trinity College MS. draft of it as well as the Fairfax, Cromwell, and Skinner sonnets must be taken as the basic texts, and Professor Fletcher finds no point in collating these manuscript texts with the "irregular" 1694 printing (pp. 372-73).

⁶ P. 3. In so doing, he seems to accord little if any weight to a rather impressive chain of circumstantial evidence for Milton's authorship. The manuscript was found in company with two other unquestioned Milton items; its presence there can be plausibly accounted for; it bears the name "Milton"; and arguments based on differences of handwriting between it and the Trinity College MS. are by no means decisive. We have no authentic specimens of Milton's early handwriting beyond his signature to a marriage contract, and that signature differs greatly from his later autographs.

⁷ Pp. 346-49. Candy's case for the autography of these corrections (*The Library*, 4 ser., XII [1933], 192-200) is the most detailed and conclusive demonstration yet to be presented in Milton scholarship. If we question its conclusiveness, we might as well stop trying to identify Milton's autograph by the comparative method.

⁸ Pp. 143, 458. I know of no good reason for doubting that the manuscript is a presentation copy prepared by an amanuensis at Milton's own bidding, particularly since the marginal correction "Graie" seems to be in Milton's autograph (W. W. Greg, *English Literary Autographs, 1550-1650*, Oxford, 1932, plate LIII).

⁹ An assumption flatly questioned by Beeching (*The Poetical Works of John Milton*, Oxford, 1900, p. (v)). This departure from the earlier practice of using the 1645 edition as the basic text needs further elucidation

these, however, are matters that Professor Fletcher can probably explain both readily and satisfactorily, for his knowledge of the Milton texts is far more intimate than mine.

But I doubt seriously if a ready explanation also exists for the situation revealed by a comparison of this volume of the facsimile edition with the new text of the minor poems issued by Professor Fletcher in the revised Cambridge edition. As I understand Professor Fletcher's work,¹⁰ volume I of the facsimile edition presents the collations that he made as a preliminary step in constructing his new text. The text of the revised Cambridge edition is the result of that collation. In establishing the Cambridge text, Professor Fletcher made his guiding principle that of following the reading of the last edition printed in Milton's lifetime, except where such a reading was clearly in error. The Cambridge text, however, does not completely and consistently follow this rule. In no less than ten instances, my collation of part of the minor poems shows, the Cambridge edition retains the final, 1673, reading, even though the sense seems clearly to call for the reading of an earlier edition;¹¹

and proof before scholars can safely accept it. The 1645 edition, as Professor Fletcher observes (p. 150), "was relatively carefully printed"; and at that time Milton had good use of his eyes. In 1673, however, the poet was blind; and the edition of that year contains manifest errors which remain uncorrected in the *errata*. Note, for instance, in the facsimile edition, p. 15, l. 21, "And and"; 22, 60, "in in"; 24, 54, "cown'd"; 28, 3, "Ealrs"; 41, 2 [Sonnet VII], "Soln"; 42, 1 [Sonnet XI], "was was"; 46, 3, "tripp s." Errors of this sort do not indicate careful proofreading, even by the printer; and the 1673 version of *Comus*, 166-69, can be readily accounted for by assuming a compositor's error of the omission of one line (167 in the 1637 and 1645 texts) and the transposition of ll. 168-169. This assumption accounts for the intrusive period in l. 168 and the absence of the period at the end of l. 169, where it is needed and indeed appears in the 1637 and 1645 texts. The 1673 edition, furthermore, seems to have been set in great part from the 1645 text; and with the exception of three corrections in *Comus*, the *errata* for the English verse are concerned only with poems that did not appear in the 1645 text and were set up apparently from MS. copies.

¹⁰ *The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton*, Cambridge, Mass., 1941, p. xi.

¹¹ In this and the following footnote, the first reference is to the revised Cambridge edition; the second, in square brackets, to volume I of the facsimile edition. The diagonal sets off my remarks from the textual note itself.

50, 54 [16, 54] Camb., 1673 around] 1645 around: / The sense here clearly calls for the 1645 colon.

69, 61 [29, 61] Camb., 1673 glory.] 1645 glory, / The facsimile edition observes, "The meaning of the lines certainly calls for a comma, as in 1645; but just as certainly 1673 printed a period."

69, 6 [30, 6] Camb., 1673 youth] 1645 youth, / The facsimile edition points out, "But it seems significant that all 1673 copies examined have space after the word . . . for comma though none has even the slightest mark in that space."

77, 124 [34, 124] Camb., 1673 commend.] 1645 commend. / Here the

and in two instances, the Cambridge text departs from all known readings.¹² It may be that these twelve instances are typographical errors. If such is the case, then the Cambridge text of the minor poems is not completely accurate. If, however, the Cambridge edition stands as Professor Fletcher intended it, then he has not given us a full statement of the principles upon which his text was constructed. In spite, therefore, of Professor Fletcher's long and painstaking labors, certain matters concerning the text of Milton's minor poems require further clarification.

MAURICE KELLY

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The Life and Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle. By LOUIS TRENCHARD MORE. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. xii + 313. \$4.50.

The Irish epitaph in which, it is said, Robert Boyle was described as Father of Chemistry and Uncle of the Earl of Cork comes to mind in the reading of his biography by the late Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Cincinnati. The subject of this last work of Dean More's is presented to us, inevitably, as a member of the family of the Great Earl of Cork, as well as one of the dynasty of intellectual giants which began with Copernicus and

sense clearly calls for a full stop, as it does in 63, 42 [26; 42] 1673 fit,] 1645 fit. In this second instance, Camb., follows 1645 without noting the departure from 1673.

79, 49 [36, 49] Camb., 1673 leasure;] 1645 leasure, / The facsimile note asks, "was a battered semi-colon employed here because the compositor thought he was actually setting a comma?"

79, 81 [36, 81] Camb., 1673 mirth.] 1645 mirth, / The situation here is the same as that found in 93, 165 [60, 165], where in 1673 a period rather than a comma separates a subordinate element from the rest of the sentence. In this second instance, Camb. states in a note its rejection of the 1673 reading.

79, 88 [37, 88] Camb., 1673 unsphear.] 1645 unsphear / The facsimile edition states that "No punctuation seems to be necessary."

81, 156 [38, 156] Camb., 1673 pale.] 1645 pale, / Here, as in 92, 93 [58, 93] (1673 fold.) 1645, 1637 fold,) the period destroys the syntax of the sentence. In this second instance, Camb., follows the 1645, 1637 reading and records the departure from 1673 in a footnote.

88, 109 [52, 109], Camb., 1673 seen,] 1645 seen. / Here the punctuation of the same refrain in l. 95 of the 1673 edition clearly supports the soundness of the 1645 period.

551, 65 [22, 50] Camb., 1673 host.] 1645 host, / The reason for preferring the 1645 reading is the same as that advanced above in my discussion of 79, 81 [36, 81].

¹² 91, 86 [58, 86] Camb., song] 1673 song.] 1645, 1637 song, / The facsimile edition notes that a comma should certainly be the correct punctuation. The Camb. note "song: song, in 1673." is wrong.

543, 14 [144, 14, 459, 14] Camb., dolo,] 1673, MS., dolo?

included Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, and Newton. It might, indeed, be argued from the evidence that Dean More assembles that Boyle's becoming Father of Chemistry was not unconnected with his being son of the Great Earl, the wealthiest and most powerful landholder in Ireland. Boyle inherited his father's industry, his alertness of mind, his social prominence, and enough of his fortune to free him from the necessity of earning his living, or seeking a profession, or currying favors of the great. Throughout his life he conducted his experiments and researches as a gentleman amateur. Seldom has a scholar or scientist been so free to devote his whole life to his work, and seldom has such work had greater influence on his successors.

Dean More, who had scant patience with historians of science who neglected the mutual influences of the sciences and the humanities on each other, has given us a study of Boyle the humanist. Among Boyle's earliest works were a study of the style of the original tongues of the Scriptures and a religious romance, *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus*, and the author therefore includes a discussion of Boyle's literary achievements, which he ranks rather higher than do most scholars. He quotes with pleasure Dr. Johnson's statement with reference to Boyle's romance as the predecessor of a long line of religious novels. The parodies by Butler and Swift of Boyle's *Occasional Reflections* are noted, and Dr. More is inclined to give credence to the rumor that Swift got the idea of *Gulliver's Travels* from one of Boyle's *Reflections*.

Boyle is presented as perhaps the man most typical of his strangely rich and Janus-like century. He was a theologian, an alchemist, and a chemist; as ardent an investigator of Scriptural tongues and doctrines as of natural laws. Indeed, Boyle's religion was of cardinal importance in his life, and his scientific and philosophical work was consciously and constantly dedicated *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. To emphasize this fact, and to illustrate the *via media* of the Anglican Church, in which Boyle was so contented, Dr. More has appended to his study the essay by his brother, Paul Elmer More, on "The Spirit of Anglicanism." But it is chiefly as a pioneer whose new philosophy of ideas directed the future course of science that Dr. More sees Boyle. His ability to expound the new scientific discipline and philosophy clearly and simply made him the ideal agent in effecting the profound change from scholastic to modern natural philosophy. He was "first and last the teacher, the lay preacher, and the propagandist." Boyle, furthermore, had an interested and discriminating public, which was educated to receive and appreciate the value of the scientific discoveries of the day, and he was preëminently gifted in guiding that public. Thus, his researches and discoveries were infinitely more fruitful than those of Leonardo da Vinci, a genius which ripened out of season. "So catholic was the range of his science, so astonishing was the mass of observations and experiments, or reports collected from oral and written sources, or suggestions for

further work, and of arguments for and against the mechanistic philosophy which were published over his name, that he should be classed as an institution rather than as an individual worker. . . . The impression made on the casual reader of Boyle's work is that he was led by his insatiable curiosity to try every experiment which came to his mind and to make a memorandum of everything he read or heard, and then to publish it all indiscriminately. But verbose as Boyle's works may be, a comparison with earlier treatises shows he was one of the first scientists to recognize that the advancement of science depends on a discriminating accumulation of the data of observation, and that the statement of such scientific knowledge should be expressed in a clear and simple style."

In attempting to determine exactly what and how much was Boyle's personal contribution to science and natural philosophy the author has tried to avoid claiming too much for his hero. He admits that of Boyle's forty-odd separate works *The Sceptical Chymist* is almost the only one still alive, and that few now read it. He denies the oft-made assertion that it is "the first modern treatise on chemistry." He is careful to point out fallacies in Boyle's arguments, and to illustrate how, particularly in his speculations about the nature of cold, he would, like Descartes, at times "slip into the mediaeval covert he was supposed to be clearing." That the great man could now and then be something less than purely scientific in his methods, and that he frequently lacked the patience to try the necessary experiments, Dr. More does not try to conceal. Of some of Boyle's beliefs he remarks, "Boyle was undoubtedly credulous; or, perhaps, we should say, as did Herschel, that he had an 'undistinguished appetite.'" Dr. More displays an abundant sympathy for and understanding of the shortcomings of Boyle and his fellow-scientists. He recognizes, as not all modern critics of earlier scientists and scholars do, the difficulties under which they labored, often with the lack of essential apparatus and without the great clearing-houses of information now available. He is modest enough to admit, also, that modern scientists have not yet solved all the problems that confronted Boyle and his contemporaries. Dr. More's zeal in equating some of Boyle's statements with modern pronouncements in physics, and his suggestion that Boyle's mechanical hypothesis is the ideal goal of modern physics and chemistry will not pass unchallenged in scientific circles.

The achievements of Boyle as presented by Dr. More are far too numerous to be listed here. "There is no subject he discussed, and he touched on all, which he did not enrich with significant discoveries." What today seems strangest, but what in Boyle's opinion and in Dr. More's was most important, is that the actions and operations of natural forces were for him a witness of the power and wisdom of the Christian God.

ALEXANDER M. WITHERSPOON

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The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth: Poems Founded on the Affections, Poems on the Naming of Places, Poems of the Fancy, Poems of the Imagination. Edited from the manuscripts with textual and critical notes by E. DE SELINCOURT. Oxford: Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1944. Pp. xii + 537. 25 sh. [\$8.50.]

The preface to this, the second volume of the new edition of Wordsworth,¹ is dated "January 1943," four months before the death of its brilliant editor. Professor de Selincourt is said to have done much of the work on the remaining volumes, which will be completed by his very able friend and assistant, Miss Helen Darbishire. It is to be hoped that there will be five of these: four more of the poems, including a revision of Professor de Selincourt's indispensable edition of *The Prelude*, and one of the remaining prose works. The high price may, however, discourage would-be purchasers and small sales may in turn discourage the publishers. If only the subvention to American libraries which has made possible the publication of the new British Museum Catalogue could be extended to other works of prime importance so that, for example, the fifteen basic Wordsworth volumes (the poems, prose, letters, and Dorothy's journals) could be sold for \$75.

The volume before us contains all the prefaces, except the brief one prefixed to *The Excursion*, and the greater part of Wordsworth's best short pieces apart from the sonnets. The notes are brief, too brief, but very valuable. For the prefaces there are but two notes, except the location of quotations, and but two readings from manuscripts, only one of which has apparently survived. The changes made in successive printings of these important prefaces are here noted in much greater detail than in Knight's edition, the text of which also is inaccurate. Yet Knight mentions two variants which de Selincourt overlooked: "in addition to such answer as is included in what I have already said," which first appeared in the 1802 edition of the *Lyrical Ballads* preface,² and "which, as they must necessarily be of a less definite character, shall be selected from these volumes," which was added in 1836-7 to the Preface of 1815 and was retained in all later editions.³

Gordon Wordsworth once remarked to me that the differences between the texts in the various printings of his grandfather's poems were so carefully recorded by Knight that some one must

¹ For volume I see *MLN.* for November, 1943.

² De Selincourt, II. 398; Knight, I. 65 n. Knight fails to point out that "I have" was later changed to "has been."

³ De Selincourt, II. 437; Knight, II. 210 n. Knight incorrectly gives "other" in place of "these." Professor Broughton very kindly checked these two passages for me in the successive editions.

have done them for him! Certainly they are much the same in the present volume as in the older work, and for at least one poem the older edition is the more accurate. For Knight lists twenty-four readings in the 1800 edition of "The Brothers" and one in the 1802 edition which are not in the final text and are not mentioned in the present volume. Professor Leslie N. Broughton, who has very kindly checked the 1800 and 1802 texts for me in the Cornell collection which he has helped to make outstanding, writes that in all but two of the twenty-five instances (lines 369-74) Knight is right. The rejected *manuscript* readings, which are here given for the first time and which make this edition of unique value, are very numerous, particularly in the case of the progressively-conventionalized *Peter Bell*. None of them, however, has the beauty or the significance of many of those found in the early manuscripts of *The Prelude*. The variants of "She dwelt among," "Let other bards," and "Resolution and Independence" are of more interest than the new poem (p. 464); but the previously-unpublished beginning of "Nutting" and the additional passages connected with "Michael" are noteworthy.⁴

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

Writers and Their Critics: A Study in Misunderstanding. By HENRI PEYRE. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1944. Pp. xii + 340. \$3.00.

M. Peyre has written a well-organized and wide-ranging book on criticism. He argues that most contemporary criticism has been always blind to the merits of great authors and that even the greatest critics have made the most amazing blunders. M. Peyre analyzes then the most common sins of criticism: prejudices, platitudes and the charges of obscurity which have been leveled at all great authors from Aeschylus to Valéry. Also the usual critical criteria such as "sincerity," "balance of content and form," etc., are shown to be of little use, and the myth that posterity rectifies all errors of the past is exploded very deftly. In a final chapter, M. Peyre pleads for the reconciliation of scholarship, criticism and literature. He draws up a list of the fallacies of our academic scholarship and, in a conclusion surprising in view of the sad tale unfolded, exhorts American professors to devote themselves to the criticism of contemporary literature.

⁴ Pages 504-6, 479-82, 484. No mention is made of the previous printing by Knight (VIII. 223-31), with the omission of some seventeen lines, of passages (a)-(d) on pages 482-4. In the ninth and tenth line from the bottom of p. 481 the comma after "paramount" should be after "heart." The reference to Langhorne as Wordsworth's "favourite poet" (p. 472) is puzzling.

M. Peyre's amusing specimens of critical inanities and shrewd analyses of clichés are valuable and convincing. I, for one, concur in most of his views on the abuses of our prevalent factualism and in his plea for a revival of criticism in our universities.

But M. Peyre has little to offer towards a positive solution of the central critical problems. As criteria of the greatness of a work of art he recommends "depth, energy, and imaginative intensity" (p. 272). The critic should convey the "shock" of the work of art, he should ask whether some lines "haunted" him or whether a fictional character "actually coexists" with him (p. 274). Thus M. Peyre ends in pure subjective hedonism in spite of his disapproval of extreme relativism. Apparently M. Peyre's justified suspicion against mechanical transfer of scientific methods to the study of literature has led him to an extreme anti-intellectualist position. Practically all critics who have tried to lead criticism out of chaotic impressionism towards a coherent theory of literature, whether Arnold or Brunetière, Neo-humanists or Southern Critics, I. A. Richards or William Empson, Kenneth Burke or R. P. Blackmur, are rejected or slighted. Such real problems as the social bearings or the development and decadence of literature are dismissed far too easily. An examination of M. Peyre's own literary tastes would show that he leans heavily towards romantic subjectivism. He considers Hazlitt and Pater the greatest English critics, lavishes admiration on Shelley, Meredith, Swinburne, Poe and Whitman, and thinks that Dryden, Pope, Burke, Jane Austen, Carlyle, Newman, and Trollope are overrated. Pope is criticized by expressing doubt whether "he ever felt anything as *intensely* as Blake or Shelley did" and Dr. Johnson by doubting whether he "recited Pope's verse with the same rapture that generations of young men have since felt in declaiming Shelley and Keats" (p. 280). Among modern American critics, next to Edmund Wilson, M. Peyre ranks highest Waldo Frank and Alfred Kazin.

Obviously, M. Peyre is quite out of sympathy with the most active promising movements in European and American criticism. He has rested satisfied with the recommendation of an ultimately irrational enjoyment, rapture, and purely personal judgment.

University of Iowa

RENÉ WELLEK

Rainer Maria Rilke: Poems. Translated by JESSIE LEMONT. New York, Columbia University Press, 1943. xxii and 185 pp. \$3.

In the introduction to this volume of well selected poems Mr. Henry W. Wells of Columbia University claims that Miss Lemont in her renderings has been more faithful to the poetry than to the letter of her original and insists that we "have the right to ask not only a retention of the more nervous language of verse,

but also the use in each poem, at least as far as possible, of the original rhyme, metrical pattern, and rhythmical movement." In this, on the whole, Miss Lemont succeeds rather well. But, if Mr. Wells contends that "to translate literally from one language into another often proves . . . shocking to the aesthetic sense of the reader" and therefore rejects prose translations of poetry, it does not follow that the translator should not have used such helps as Mrs. Norton's well pondered and eminently intelligent prose renderings more thoroughly than was done by Miss Lemont, in order to understand the actual literal, and real meaning of Rilke's poems as well as some of the subtleties of his metaphoric expression.

In the famous *Panther* for instance (p. 69), where an unceasing motion slowly ebbs away, flickers, and is extinguished, Miss Lemont inverts the sequence of cause and effect by unfortunate anticipations, thus creating a static picture, and finally ends with a loud climax. The weariness in the first line anticipates the result of the passing of the bars; the animal is unable to hold its impression instead of showing a *dazed and vacant stare*; its strong limbs do not *stand apart, alert* because a *flood of visions arise*, no, just one picture is received from outside, passes through these limbs, which become tense for a moment, and simply ceases to be instead of *sinking and dying*. And has Miss Lemont ever seen the white membrane which curtains the cat's eye? If so she could not possibly destroy Rilke's keen observation through a dilation of the panther's pupils.

In *Leda* (p. 85) the subtle interaction of the two characters again is hopelessly inverted when it was the task of the translator to transmit the fusion of two beings, of Zeus "who steps into the Swan" (instead of *striding toward it*), while they become really one only when the second fusion with Leda is accomplished. She, however, is not a *fleeing One*, but "aufgetan," sensing the god before she feels the Swan.—In the *Flamingos* (p. 94) the *lying unaware* of the Lady as well as the kissing of the birds are uncalled-for additions, furnishing rhymes. Furthermore, these birds are not supposed to seduce *each other* (which would be only a natural biological fact) but themselves in their extreme complacent narcissism. And these 'imaginary' creatures, half bird and half flower, which in Rilke's poem 'stride, each by himself, into a realm of phantasy' for Miss Lemont merrily *step forth alone in imagination—gone*.

In the *Archaic Torso of Apollo* (p. 84) it seems sheer nonsense that we cannot *fathom* his *mysterious* head. There is no mystery connected with it, we simply do not know it, wherefore Mrs. Norton speaks of it as "legendary." A *round breast* might do for a Venus, but hardly for the "Bug der Brust" of the Apollo; neither does the *shoulders' heavy bar* transmit the lucidity and dynamic curvature of "der Schultern durchsichtigen Sturz." But aside from such and other inadequacies, the very meaning of Rilke's poem is

destroyed when Miss Lemont's statue *with kindling magic makes you live anew*, sending us back two hundred years to Winckelmann's euphoric reaction before the Apollo of Belvedere: "My breast seems to expand . . . like the one which I see swelled with the spirit of prophecy and I feel transported to Delos." What Rilke, however, expresses here with his simple and stirring words "Du mußt dein Leben ändern" is a restatement of Goethe's decisive experience in Italy, "Who does not sense at such a sight at once how inadequate we are? Even though prepared, we stand annihilated." (*Italian Journey*, April 11, 1788.) Not a happy magic transforms us, we are sternly admonished to face the necessity of an inner rebirth.

These examples may suffice to indicate that such an inner rebirth, necessary also or even indispensable in a translation, has not always taken place in Miss Lemont's renderings. Translating is a thankless task, it seldom satisfies anybody except the translator. Reviewing translations is even more so since it lacks even that selfsatisfaction, for the reviewer sees what is wrong without being able to right it. Yet, in this case it seems that a little hard work for the purpose of understanding the German text would have furnished Miss Lemont with a more solid foundation upon which she could have achieved, with her ability of writing verse, a really good translation.

ERNST FEISE

Gerard Manley Hopkins—A Life. By ELEANOR RUGGLES. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1944. Pp. 305. \$3.50.

That Gerard Manley Hopkins belongs among the greatest English poets is now almost a truism. But how short a time have we had to know him. None of Hopkins' mature poems was published in his lifetime. After including a few of his friend's poems in anthologies, Robert Bridges issued a slim volume in 1918. One wonders whether Bridges' Preface to Notes did more to hamper than to extend the reading of the poems. The sheets of this edition were not exhausted for ten years. Though Robert Graves, I. A. Richards, F. R. Leavis, and their followers were already awakening an interest, the real boom in Hopkins' poetry appears to have begun about 1930 with Charles Williams' augmented edition of that year. This has been reprinted repeatedly. The letters to Dixon and Bridges were published in 1935; *The Note-Books and Papers* in 1937; *Further Letters* in 1938. Year by year the number of critiques increases. And today, in 1944, the centenary of the poet's birth, *The Kenyon Review* devotes most of its Summer issue and part of its Autumn to a series of articles on Hopkins, that of Arthur Mizener being as it were a discriminating summation of the best that has been thought about the poet.

Hopkins, therefore, is entering into deserved recognition. And yet what a difficult poet he is to read for the first time. He tends to repel rather than to attract. But, as Leavis rightly suggests, it is not Hopkins but we who are at fault. So ingrained are our conceptions and conventions concerning poetry that our first acquaintance with Hopkins is likely to bewilder us totally. The ordinary student (and Hopkins did not write his poems for a coterie) is stumped completely. What has been needed is an introduction that with adequate explanation but without condescension would lead the neophyte over the threshold. And since Hopkins can never be understood except within the references of his Catholic framework, this introduction had to describe the man and his beliefs. Father G. F. Lahey's life (1930) was fragmentary. Daniel Sargent's essay in *Four Independents* (1935) is an acutely enthusiastic appreciation, but it is directed at a mature Catholic audience. John Pick's *Gerard Manley Hopkins: Priest and Poet* (1942), excellent as it is in its insistence on the direct relationship between Hopkins' religion and his poems, overstates the case badly. Besides, Pick's interpretations of individual poems are untrustworthy. The book under review, *Gerard Manley Hopkins—A Life*, by Eleanor Ruggles, admirably meets the need I have outlined.

With a poet who seems to awaken such clashing interpretations, who seems to awaken such sectarian prejudices, who almost seems to be a special property of the *avant garde*, Miss Ruggles is clear, full, unexcited, always quiet and modest, always adequate. The man in his time emerges. The character, personality, and beliefs of the poet-priest are succinctly and accurately described. But Miss Ruggles should receive especially high commendation for her analyses of individual poems. Nowhere has this reviewer found such serene and thorough explanations. She dwells on the entity, not the particular facet.

But don't stop with this book. Consider it, as Miss Ruggles wants it to be considered, a preliminary survey. Go to Hopkins' poems and prose themselves. As poet, he will seize you with his passionate precision, once he engages you. His novel prosody and diction will first surprise and then convince. As man and priest, in his letters and miscellaneous prose, he will fascinate you. Tolerant and rigid, puckish and earnest, gentle and hard, sensuous and saintly—there is no one quite like him. And yet there is no one who will give you such an impression of being Everyman. And as critic, Hopkins is perpetually surprising, fresh, and profound. Let me illustrate this last.

In a fine essay on *The Wreck of the Deutschland* (*Essays and Studies*, XXI), W. H. Gardner pointed out that the last two lines of stanza 26 are an adaptation of 1. Cor. ii. 9. This is "... Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love

him." This verse reminded me of Hopkins' *Spring and Fall*, which is about the effects of original sin:

Nor mouth had, no nor mind, expressed
What heart heard of, ghost guessed.

I then recalled what Hopkins had written to Baillie about "two strains of thought running together and like counter-pointed": the overthought and the underthought, the latter "conveyed chiefly in the choice of metaphors, etc., used and often half realised by the poet himself, not necessarily having any connection with the subject in hand but usually having a connection and suggested by some circumstance of the scene or of the story." Well, though *Spring and Fall* be about "the blight man was born for," the lines I have quoted above with their echo of I. Cor. ii. 9 certainly seem to carry as their underthought the antidote to original sin: man's redemption by Christ.

I repeat. Eleanor Ruggles' biography is an excellent and needed introduction to a great figure in English literature.

LEO KIRSCHBAUM

The Ohio State University

Thomas Traherne. By GLADYS I. WADE. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Press, 1944. Pp. viii + 269. \$3.00. *Lord Herbert of Cherbury's De Religione Laici*. Edited and translated by HAROLD R. HUTCHESON. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944. Pp. x + 195. \$3.00. *The Psychiatry of Robert Burton*. By BERGEN EVANS in consultation with GEORGE J. MOHR, M. D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. ix + 129. \$2.00.

Here are three books of varying importance in themselves but highly indicative of the growing interest of modern scholars in the seventeenth-century, the one epoch in modern times that has the most affinity with our own. Miss Wade's book—one that we have long expected—is, without question, the most important work of the group; it is, in fact, a pattern for subsequent books on minor figures of any period. In it, we find fact blended with conjecture and a sense of logic balanced by a discriminating aesthetic; then all of these superlative qualities are enhanced by a vigorous and attractive style.

Miss Wade's book has been years in the making, and most of what we have previously known about Traherne has been the result of her investigations. Her earlier findings augmented by some new discoveries make up the first part of her book, and we now have a

full portrait of Traherne's meager life with pencil sketches of his inn-keeping uncle, his vain and pompous brother, and that muse's friend, Susanna Hopton. At times, I think, Miss Wade is too much carried away by her lengthy commerce with the facts and adopts relieving conjectures that do not find ready acceptance. I am dubious about the effect of the Civil Wars on the infant Traherne; I see no reason to assume that he hated his parents (if every poet who did not write an ode to his father was assumed to have "neither love nor respect," what an unfilial lot of bards there would be); I am not convinced by the evidence of the poems that he was brought up in his uncle's inn or by the evidence of *Roman Forgeries* that he may have thought of the law as a career. It is, however, ungracious of me to quibble about these matters, for the record of Traherne's life is now before us and it is beautifully delineated.

In the subsequent section of the book, Miss Wade gives us a complete account of all of Traherne's writings. This is a valuable section because of the rarity of most of his works, and we can only hope that it will encourage others to edit the *Devotions* and the *Ethics*, a work of which Slater has already given us a taste. In her section on Traherne's prose and verse, Miss Wade comes to a decision that must be applauded. Most of us have felt that the early enthusiasm about Traherne as a poet was unwarranted, that his real achievement was in prose. Miss Wade supports this view, explaining why Traherne failed in verse and what his great contribution to the history of English prose is. In another section on Traherne as Christian, Platonist, and Mystic, Miss Wade suggests what also has long been obvious, but has never been demonstrated. Traherne is in truth the laureate of the Cambridge Platonists. He is close in his thinking, I should add, to Mersenne, which establishes his position in relation to Descartes and the rationalists. The figure that emerges from these studies is a just one. When Dobell discovered Traherne, the young Osrics of that age (the golden worded lads who have no use for scholarship) rushed in with their "appreciative" and "critical" exhausts wide open and proclaimed Traherne a great poet, who had the simple mind of a child. Time passed and other "critics" added their stones to this tower of Babel. Now Miss Wade has come to the rescue of Traherne, and we see him to be what scholars had long thought him—a minor poet but a complex thinker. The miracle is that all of this is revealed without recourse to the critical jargon which the modern critics have been borrowing from their copesmates in the Department of Education.

Mr. Hutcheson's dissertation consists of an introduction, text and translation, and bibliography. The translation is, as far as I can judge, quite accurate and the original text is not without difficulties. The introductory material, which consists of a biography

of Herbert, a discussion of the *De Veritate* and other opuscula, and a chapter on Herbert's deism, contains standard but not particularly new material. Students whose Latin has faded will find this translation an interesting contribution to the history of seventeenth-century confessions of faith. Mr. Evans' book is, I assume, written for psychiatrists rather than for students of literature. The first half of the book is devoted to a life of Burton and an account of the *Anatomy*; in these pages the reader of Burton will find little that he does not know. The second half of the book consists of gleanings from Burton catalogued under the headings of symptomatology, etiology, and therapy. The conclusion is that in some ways Burton was an able psychologist and in others he was not. The modern psychologist is advised not "to drudge through his long digressions," for "all that he has to say about psychology can now be obtained elsewhere with a great deal less effort." The *Anatomy*, it seems, proves that modern psychiatry "is the continuation of an interrupted process whose origins are almost coeval with any human record."

D. C. A.

Professor Longfellow of Harvard. By CARL L. JOHNSON. University of Oregon Press, 1944. Pp. xii + 112.

This monograph is an elaboration of appendix material contained in Dr. Johnson's Harvard dissertation submitted in 1933 under the title, *Longfellow and France*. Supplying brief connective links, background material and documentation, he has arranged fifty letters written by Longfellow in chronological order with an equal number of letters and documents addressed to or pertaining to the Professor. In twenty-one fragmentary chapters, one of which deals with the transplanting of elm trees from the college yard to the grounds of the Craigie House, Dr. Johnson squeezes every Longfellow reference of possible interest from the Harvard College Papers, the Corporation Papers and the College Record. The essence of this factual information has already been covered by Longfellow biographers.

Dr. Johnson's painstaking and meticulously scholarly assemblage of grain and chaff indicates that Professor Longfellow suffered an unpleasant series of rebuffs at the hands of the stiff-necked and reactionary Gentlemen of the Corporation. It is apparent that Longfellow's eagerness for communicating his enthusiasm in foreign languages and literatures, together with his colorful methods of teaching which delighted and enthralled his students, generated considerable jealousy and disapproval among the Gentlemen of the Corporation until they used peremptory and officious measures in curbing his ardor. One point which Dr. Johnson fails to develop, although the evidence is ample, is that Longfellow's dominant in-

terest in creative writing could never have been reconciled with academic drudgery. His initiative and imagination in facing problems connected with teaching at Harvard were gradually blunted not only by the conservatism of the overseers but also by his growing delight in his own poetry. The major factor which kept Longfellow in the academic treadmill at Harvard for nearly twenty years was economic necessity.

If one considers the labor involved in compiling this exhaustive monograph, one may be inclined to wish that Dr. Johnson had been content with his original evaluation of the subject matter as appendix material—which it most certainly is. Here again occurs proof that graduate school training in research methods too frequently places false stress on facts and not enough stress on ideas, so that the detective game of tracking down trivia becomes a mistaken end in itself. Consequently, most of us are guilty of occasional literary scavengings which produce little noises like those made by a mouse in a wastepaper basket. Because some of my own misguided detective work on Longfellow trivia has been embalmed in so-called learned periodicals, I could not exempt myself from such criticism even if I tried. Nevertheless, I now look askance at such aberrations to such an extent that I am tempted to sermonize on a text which Dr. Johnson quotes. It is the last Longfellow letter of his monograph—and makes a fitting conclusion:

"I am so little a collector of relicks, that I am afraid I have not so much reverence for them as I ought to have. Even the one you mention fails to move me to any great enthusiasm. But doubtless someone, somewhere, [is] looking and longing for this particular thing."

LAWRANCE THOMPSON,
Lieut., U. S. N. R.

Tracts and Pamphlets by Richard Steele. Edited with Notes and Commentary by RAE BLANCHARD. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1944. Pp. xvii + 663. \$5.50.

This collection is planned to include "every tract and every short piece of writing in pamphlet form known certainly to be Steele's." Except for *The Christian Hero* the material included has never been reprinted since the eighteenth century, if at all. Though every account of Steele refers to his *Apology* of 1714, it is almost startling to learn that this important document has never been reprinted since the appearance of *The Political Writings of Mr. Steele* (1715). The present edition treats bibliographical and textual detail with scrupulous care; even minor typographical features are retained as far as possible; twenty-nine title pages are reproduced in facsimile; and the book is beautifully and spaciouly printed, with no signs of scamping in materials or format.

The editor's plan excludes issues of periodicals except in a few cases—when they were reprinted as separate pamphlets (*Guardian* 128, *Englishman* 57), when they represent isolated contributions by Steele to periodicals conducted by others (*Medley* 23, *Pasquin* 46, 51), and sometimes, apparently, when they are of special political interest (*Town-Talk* 5, all four numbers of the *Plebeian*). The collection is naturally slanted in the direction of politics. But it is hard to draw the line between the periodicals and the separate pamphlets. For example, *The State of the Case* (1720), growing out of the controversy with the Lord Chamberlain about the revocation of Steele's license for Drury Lane, connects closely with the *Theatre*; likewise the South Sea pamphlets, *The Crisis of Property* and *A Nation a Family*, call for references to the same periodical. There is something to be said for John Nichols's plan of reprinting the pamphlets along with the minor periodicals, which the student may not have at hand. However, even such a generously produced edition as this must have its limits. As Professor Blanchard says, we have here the basic materials for a study of Steele's important work as a Whig pamphleteer. Certainly the editor, with her unmatched special knowledge of Steele, could best undertake such an estimate. A consecutive reading of these pieces has given me a new respect for Steele's candor and moderation in an age of political hatchetmen.

Concise introductions to the individual pieces give the needed context and sometimes helpful comment on special points. Additional comments could have been given where needed without taking up much more space. No one would urge that students who are likely to use this book need to be told who Sacheverell was, or Archbishop Tillotson. But since Professor Blanchard does give relevant information about such well known people as Maynwaring and Atterbury, she might well have told us, for example, about "Archibald Hutcheson's pronouncements" on the South Sea Bill (pp. 557-58), or have identified and commented on the references to Molesworth's *Account of Denmark* and Robinson's *Account of Sweden* [sic] in *Plebeian* 1 (Molesworth's work figures prominently in Whig discussions). Occasionally the reader needs help in smaller matters, as in the same important pamphlet, when he is confronted with the cryptic reference "Ub, Em. des Re. la, Gr.," which turns out, not very obviously, to be *Graecorum respublicae ab Ubbone Emmio descriptae*. Steele does not offer many difficulties of this kind, and I raise the point only in the interest of students who may use books like this in bibliographical isolation. It may seem ungracious to ask for still more when so much has been given, and these comments on some details of editorial policy must not be taken as detracting from the merits of a thoroughly sound piece of scholarship.

ALAN D. McKILLOP

The Rice Institute

BRIEF MENTION

The Owles Almanacke. Edited with an introduction by DON CAMERON ALLEN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. Pp. vii + 103. \$1.50. Professor Allen has once again made accessible to us the most important rare work of its class in the Elizabethan field, this time a burlesque of prognostications. He bases his text on the very best originals now available. In the introduction he interprets with scholarly perspective and humor the prognostications and the burlesques. Scholars interested in Samuel Rowlands will be interested in Allen's ascription of this important work to him. Allen's comments throw light on genres such as the character books and satires and on the quality of the Elizabethan mind, particularly in connection with astrological lore. It supplements his *Star Crossed Renaissance*.

The *Almanacke* is of literary value. Although associated with the lowest levels of Elizabethan thought, it connects itself with the very highest levels of that thought. Burlesques are sophisticated. Montaigne, Robert Hegge, Scot, Jonson, and Shakespeare, however we may discount their motives, certainly in their literary expressions were utterly sceptical when the occasion demanded of all the tomfolleries of the superstitious world.

Now that we have this work of Allen's alongside of the researches of C. Camden (*Isis*, v. xix, April, 1933), Larkey, Arnold Foster's reprints, we are in a favorable position to analyse exhaustively the matter of Elizabethan prognostications.

University of North Carolina

GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR

CORRESPONDENCE

"CHRESTIENS DE LA SAINCTURE"—A FRIENDLY REJOINDER. The issue of *MLN.* for Nov. 1944¹ contains an interesting note by Professor G. L. Della Vida on the phrase *Chrestiens de la saincture* which occurs several times in the fifteenth century *Le Saint Voyage de Jherusalem [sic] du Seigneur D'Anglure*.²

¹ Vol. 59, pp. 484-7.

² Ed. F. Bonnardot and A. Longnon, Paris, 1878 (Soc. des Anciens Textes Français). The *Voyage* has survived in two mss.: (1) FR. 15217 (Bibl. Nat.); (2) No. 189 (Bibl. d'Epinal), written at Metz in the 15th Cent. but later than (1). The editors have selected (1) as the basis for their text, but give also the variant readings of (2). The phrase cited

The springboard for Professor Della Vida's wrestlings with the phrase is a study³ of the journey of Ogier, eighth baron of Anglure (who in 1395-96 made the afore-mentioned *Saint Voyage*) written by the undersigned and entitled "Fourteenth Century Jerusalem and Cairo through Western Eyes," which appeared in *The Arab Heritage*, ed. by Dr. N. Faris, Princeton Univ. Press 1944.⁴

My friend, Professor Della Vida, takes the editors of *Le Saint Voyage*, and *per consequens* myself, to task and declares that we have been "mised" in taking Ogier's phrase, *Chrestiens de la sainture*, "Christians of the Girdle,"⁵ to designate the "Christians of Saint Thomas," i. e. the Malabar Christians belonging to the Nestorian sect. The Malabar Christians were to be found chiefly on the northwestern coast of India, though they had become pretty well diffused throughout the Near East, there being noticeable numbers of them in Palestine and Egypt especially.

But since I and my predecessors have been "mised" in our identification of the "Christians of the Girdle," it would seem appropriate to investigate the matter at further length.

Now it so happens that shortly before Ogier set out for the Orient, a party of Florentine merchants made the tour of "les sains lieux" (1384-85) though in a direction opposite to that of Ogier, beginning the trip at Cairo, and ending it at Jerusalem. Two of them, Simone Sigoli⁶ and Lionardo Frescobaldi,⁷ have left us accounts of their journey and in both these accounts there are references to the *Cristiani della cintura*, and in both the phrase is explained as in my footnote 5, i. e. the *Cristiani della cintura* are equated with the Malabar Christians. Ogier does not explain the meaning of his French phrase that parallels the Italian *Cristiani della cintura*, but he does use the phrase, and apparently to denote the same people as those to whom the Italians refer.

But is it a fact—as Professor Della Vida seems to believe—that Messrs. Bonnardot and Longnon, and, before them, Sigoli and Frescobaldi, were 'mised' or 'misinformed' in taking the phrases *Chrestiens de la sainture*, *Cristiani della cintura*, to refer to the St. Thomas Christians?

This phrase occurs four times in Ogier's narrative (§ 134, p. 31; § 168, p. 40; § 170, p. 41; § 174 bis, p. 43). In three cases of its occurrence the

above occurs four times in the edition of Messrs. Bonnardot and Longnon, and is not explained by the author (Ogier). Professor Della Vida's strictures apply only to the explanation given by the editors.

³ A "study," not a "condensed translation," as Professor Della Vida calls it (p. 484).

⁴ Incidentally one might call attention to the fact that one of the best studies in that volume is from the pen of my friend, Professor Della Vida.

⁵ So called, because (according to legend) St. Thomas, reputed founder of the Church of Malabar, received the girdle which the Virgin let fall at her Assumption.

⁶ *Viaggio al Monte Sinai di Simone Sigoli*, . . . Firenze, 1829.

⁷ *Viaggio di Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi Fiorentino in Egitto e in Terra Santa* . . . Roma, 1818.

Metz Ms. offers a different reading. On p. 40 and again on p. 43 where the Paris Ms. reads as usual, the Metz Ms. suppresses the last three words of the phrase (*de la sainture*). On p. 41 what appears to be an important correction occurs, for the Metz Ms. reads *et sont crestiens greique*, i. e. the Paris Ms. "Christians of the Girdle" are identified with the Greek Orthodox (?) Christians.

Now Professor Della Vida remarks that it is "quite obvious that the 'Chrestiens de la sainture' are plainly the native Christians," who under the regulations of the Islamic law were obliged to distinguish themselves from the Moslems by wearing blue girdles . . . and turbans."

It is difficult to explain these readings of the Metz Ms. Do they correct Ogier's (or his scribe's) carelessness in the writing of the Paris Ms.? Or was Ogier himself a better observer than those in Metz who copied down his words after he had made his famous journey? But whatever be the reason for these variant readings, their presence in the later ms. rather tells against any theory that the "Christians of the Girdle" were the "native" Christians. If they were "native" Christians, why should the scribe of the Metz ms. find it necessary in two passages to delete the last three words of Ogier's phrase? Why did he not let Ogier's original readings stand? In the case of the emended reading on p. 41, the fact of the change contradicts Professor Della Vida's views, for the scribe identifies our mysterious "Christians of the Girdle" with the Orthodox (?) Greeks, only one group of the whole body of native Christians.⁸

But let us, for the sake of argument, assume the hypothesis that the "Christians of the Girdle" were the "native" Christians. The "native" Christians would then include all the sects and groups who lived in Palestine under Moslem rule—Roman, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Coptic, and Abyssinian, to name some of them. According to Professor Della Vida, all these (and perhaps more) would be included under the title *Chrestiens de la sainture*. A suggestive and seemingly probable explanation, if there were no evidence to contradict it. But there is evidence to contradict it which Professor Della Vida has not cited. One passage in Ogier's narrative (§ 134, pp. 30-31) speaks of the four chapels outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, each one under the auspices of a different

⁸ Credit for first making this suggestion belongs to I. R. Khalidi; see *The Arab Heritage*, p. 209 n. 11. Professor Della Vida refers us to Miss Ilse Lichtenstaedter, "The Distinctive Dress of Non-Muslims in Islamic Countries," *Hist. Judaica* 5. 35-52, and to A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects*, London, 1930, but neither author specifically states that the girdles of the native Christians in Moslem states were blue. This footnote does not occur in the words quoted from Professor Della Vida.

⁹ Even if the scribe of the Metz Ms. was seeking by the cancellation of the last three words of the phrase to prove what Professor Della Vida seeks to prove, that the reference is not to the St. Thomas Christians, then in the mere fact of cancellation there would be some implication that the sect of those Christians was one so well known in Palestine that there was danger of confusing it with other sects.

Christian sect: "and these chapels are administered by the Greeks, the Armenians, (*nota bene*) the Christians of the Girdle, and there are also the Christians of the Land of Prester John" [Abyssinian Christians?].¹⁰ Here, quite definitely, the "Christians of the Girdle" are *not* synonymous with the "native" Christians who live in Arabia and Palestine, for the "native" Christians would be all those Christians who live under the power of the Moslem rulers of Palestine. In brief, they are but a part and not the whole that Professor Della Vida would make them. Indeed, the query raised by Professor Della Vida may perhaps here find its final answer. Since all the native Christians were compelled to wear girdles, Roman, Greek, Armenian, Coptic, Abyssinian, etc., why is it that Ogier and his Italian forerunners so pointedly distinguish the "Christians of the Girdle"? What is the reason why the members of a particular sect should be designated as "Wearers of the Girdle" when the mark of all sects under Moslem rule was a costume in which a girdle was a particular distinguishing feature? The only adequate explanation is that given by both Sigoli and Frescobaldi: *questo nome è derivato che, come voi sapete, quando la nostra Donna vergine Maria n' andò in cielo lasciò la cintura sua a santo Tommaso apostolo*.¹¹ Further research may lead to a different interpretation of the term, but at the present time, despite Professor Della Vida's efforts, this one is the most adequate and satisfactory. With the Malabar sect there was associated the tradition of the especial honour conferred upon their founder, St. Thomas.

Before concluding I ought to point out an inconsistency in my friend's argument. On p. 485 footnote 8, he tells us that Francesco Poggi, editor of Sigoli's *Viaggio* "correctly identified the 'Christians of the Girdle' with the Copts." Now, whoever they may be, the "Christians of the Girdle" cannot be both 'native' Christians and Copts at the same time, for the Coptic Church was not the only church of the 'native' Christians in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. If it is "correct" that these brethren of the Girdle are Copts, then they cannot be the "Latini, Greci, Nubini, Giorgiani, Tiopiani, Ermini" of Frescobaldi's list.¹²

I close with a general reflection which has been evoked by Professor Della Vida's remark that the "mistake" of which I and Messrs. Bonnardot and Longnon are guilty goes back to the narrative of the Florentine Sigoli

¹⁰ Note that Ogier carefully differentiates the "Christians of the Girdle" from the Abyssinian (?) Christians. This differentiation would run counter to Professor Della Vida's belief (see p. 485 note 6 of his article) that the Egyptian *Cristiani della cintura* were identical with the Copts, since the Abyssinian Church may at this time have had affiliations with the Coptic Church.

¹¹ *Viaggio* . . . di S. Sigoli, p. 95.

¹² If the *Cristiani della cintura* who, Frescobaldi tells us, officiated in some of the Coptic churches in Old Cairo, are Copts, why should F. go out of his way to assure us that Copts officiated in *some* of the Coptic churches? One is tempted to ask "Who officiated in the others?"

who was undoubtedly "misinformed by a local cicerone." Possibly he was, but I, for one, am somewhat reluctant to believe that details that will not fit into an explanation offered by a scholar of the present day are due to the original author's being "misinformed" or "misled." Sigoli and Frescobaldi were members of a group of Italian merchants, Ogier one of several French noblemen. Presumably each party, the Italian and the French, would have been wealthy enough to hire good dragomen, men who knew their business. Any dragoman worth hiring, be he Moslem or Christian, would have known and could have told (as indeed he did tell) his employers the identity and something of the characteristics of the numerous Christian sects whom they met on their journeys. Therefore, I conclude that present day scholars are more likely to be "misinformed" or "misled" than writers who reported what they themselves had seen, or learned from sources that were not as far removed from them as from us.

Princeton University Library

HENRY L. SAVAGE

REPLY. Professor Savage's long rejoinder to my short remarks on the "Christians of the Girdle" will fail to convince anybody who is acquainted with the history and organization of the Eastern Churches. This subject is far from being an unexplored field, open to personal guesses, as Professor Savage seems to consider it. Copious sources in half a dozen Oriental languages and the combined work of many generations of Western scholars have thrown sufficient light on it to allow me to dispense with explanations which may be found in any elementary book, and furthermore, would be of little or no use to the readers of *MLN*.

It is out of the question that such reports as d'Anglure's, Sigoli's, Frescobaldi's etc., interesting as they are for the history of travel, add anything to our actual information upon the Eastern Churches. In my note I declared that my aim was not to take exception to a trifling error, which does not affect the merits of Professor Savage's excellent essay and for which (as I would like to emphasize again) not he but the old editors of the *Voyage du Seigneur d'Anglure* should be held responsible. I wanted only to call attention to a possible relationship between the French and Italian narratives.

This is a topic of literary history, French and Italian, which is not devoid of interest especially since Leonardo Olschki's brilliant investigations have shown how often bonafide travellers (Marco Polo and Columbus are no exceptions) while reporting on what they have actually seen unconsciously deform their recollections under the influence of literary sources with which they are familiar. I candidly admitted my "ignorance of Romanic studies" and asked for the help of those who are competent in them. On the other hand, I would humbly expect to be credited with a modest amount of competence in my own field.

G. LEVI DELLA VIDA

The University of Pennsylvania

SECOND REJOINDER. I think that the discussion between my friend Professor Della Vida, and myself can safely be left to the judgment of the reader. However, in fairness to the editors of *Le Saint Voyage de Jherusalem*, I ought to remind him that Professor Della Vida has yet to prove his point, namely that the "Christians of the Girdle" were not the Christians of St. Thomas. Let me add in conclusion that I have never doubted Professor Della Vida's competence in his own field.

Princeton University Library

HENRY L. SAVAGE

G. BONFANTE: "THE ROMANCE DESIDERATIVE *se*" (*PMLA.*, LVII, 930-50). M. Bonfante revient sur la question du *se* désidératif en anc. roman (ital. *Deh, se riposi mai vostra semenza . . . solvetemi quel nodo*; fr. *mais ce me di, se Dieus t'aït*; port. *Dizede me, se Deos vos parnon* etc.) et, après avoir soigneusement catalogué, avec l'aide de M. McKenzie, les exemples qu'on trouve dans Dante et dans d'autres poètes anciens italiens, s'arrête, ni à la thèse de M. Nicholson (*se* = *sit*) ni à la mienne (*se* = *si* hypothétique), mais à la supposition d'un *sic* latin qu'il atteste amplement (p. ex. Properce: *dic mihi de nostra quae sentis vera puella: sic tibi sint dominae*, *Lygdame, dempta iuga*; cf. Plaute: *neque, ita me di ament, credebam*).

The identity of the Latin and the Italian type is absolute: first the speaker expresses a wish in favor of the interlocutor by the means of a sentence constructed with *sic, se* and the present subjunctive; then, in exchange, he asks or begs something from the same interlocutor by means of an imperative . . . ; very often, a verb meaning 'I pray you,' 'I beg you' is also found. Very frequently the imperative is a verb meaning 'to tell,' 'to answer,' 'to speak,' . . . From the phonetic point of view, it is true that Lat. *sic* has given Old Italian *sì*, O.Fr. *si*, Port. *sim*, Rum. *și*. But there is no difficulty in admitting that, with a different meaning, and consequently with a different intonation, it has given at the same time *se* (*sā*) in the same languages. The case is exactly the same as with Lat. *magis*, which has given Ital. *ma* and *mai*, Port. *mas* and *mais*. That *sic* in the Romance languages was weakening in stress, is proved by the modern forms: Ital. *così*, Fr. *ainsi*, Sp. *así* . . . Port. *assim*, Rum. *așa* . . .

Je ne crois pas que, malgré la soigneuse documentation, cette nouvelle théorie puisse emporter la conviction. Et d'abord le parallèle *ma—mai* etc. n'est pas solide: *ma* 'mais,' la forme affaiblie, est une conjonction, *mai* 'plus, jamais,' la forme forte, est un adverbe; dans le cas de *se* désidératif, si nous admettions l'étymon *sic*, la forme affaiblie servirait là où au contraire en latin l'adverbe apparaît à la place forte (*sic tibi sint dominae* 'qu'ainsi [aussi vrai que] . . .'), où *sic*, en tête de phrase, porte tout l'accent. On s'étonnerait particulièrement d'y trouver une forme *se*, qui avait beaucoup de chances de se confondre avec le *se* hypothétique issu de *si* 'si,' là où les langues modernes emploient la particule forte (*così mi sia questo cammin felice*; fr. *ainsi puisse la France être toujours prospère*; esp. *así*). Ce serait d'autant plus étonnant que l'anc. fr. a à côté du type *se Dieus m'aït* le type *si m'aït Dieus*, construction étudiée avant moi par

M. Foulet et dont M. Bonfante ne parle pas du tout:¹ il est pourtant évident que la construction *sic tibi sint dominae . . . dempta iuga, ita me di ament* se continue précisément dans cette construction *si m'aît Dieus*, où le *si* (non pas *se*) est nettement un *sic* fort, appelant l'inversion du sujet (comme dans *si est vrais* 'et c'est vrai,' *trop est bels* 'il est très beau' etc.), alors que dans *se Dieus m'aît* nous avons l'ordre des mots normal après la (faible) conjonction *se* = *si*. L'ample documentation² de M. Bonfante pour le *sic* désidératif en latin ne sert en somme qu'à établir la survie de cette construction latine dans la construction *si m'aît Dieus*, non pas dans *se Dieus m'aît*. Il serait extraordinaire que le roman eût scindé la construction latine *sic tibi sint . . .* en deux constructions tout à fait indépendantes, et eût fait, avec un trop admirable esprit de système, intervenir l'inversion après un *si*, l'eût supprimée après un *se*! Si le roman avait vraiment 'sentí le besoin' d'affaiblir son *si* (= *sic*) en **se*, pourquoi aurait-il conservé le type *si m'aît Dieus*? La langue protoromane, en affaiblissant *si* en *se*, s'exposait au danger d'atténuer le caractère d'adjuration ('qu'ainsi [= aussi vrai que je désire que] Dieu m'aide'), puisque, comme je disais plus haut, ce *se* (forme affaiblie de *sic*) devait être compris comme un *se* = *si* hypothétique. Si vraiment le dédoublement de *sic* en *si* et *se* était une réalité, on s'attendrait à voir la forme *se* apparaître aussi dans d'autres cas remontant indubitablement à *sic* (p. ex. **s'est vrais* = *si est v.*, **se beau*! = *si beau*!) et non pas là où une autre explication (précisément celle par *se* = *si*) est possible: une prohibition instinctive devait interdire la constitution d'un type aussi mal protégé contre l'ambiguïté: imagine-t-on un **ma più* 'jamais plus' (avec **ma* forme affaiblie de *magis*), qui serait susceptible de signifier aussi 'mais

¹ Ou plutôt, il la mêle avec l'autre, p. ex. à la p. 140 où il cite l' a. prov. *aim sal le filh sancta Maria* sur le même plan que l'anc. fr. *se t'ame ait ja ealu* (cf. Levy *si* n° 1, 6 et *si* n° 2, 1—il faudrait, après Stronski et Schultz-Gora, reprendre la question de la répartition de *si* et *se* dans notre type de phrase en anc. prov.—y trouve-t-on des *se*?) et à la p. 942, note où il est vrai, il joint l'anc. fr. *si m'aît Dieus* au type moderne avec *ainsi*, sans dire expressément que ce sont ces deux types qui contiennent véritablement, textuellement, le lat. *ita me di ament*. L'impression générale que gagne le romanisant étudiant les succédanés de *sic* et *si*, est que *sic* se maintient très robustement (à part les cas d'enclise a. fr. *si-l > sel*),—même s'il est renforcé comme dans le fr. *ainsi*, l'esp. *así* etc., le *si* reste intact—alors que *si* = *sí* admet la variante *se* (en prov. anc. *si* et *se* servent au lieu du lat. *si*—l'esp. dit *si* pour *sic* et *sí* et ne fait qu'une distinction orthographique par l'accent), ce qui semble montrer que la confusion de *sí* et *sic* au sens hypothétique n'est pas grave (et en effet l'all. *a so Gott helfe* avec *so* 'ainsi' > 'si'), pas aussi grave en tout cas que serait la confusion de l'adverbe 'ainsi' avec la conjonction hypothétique *sí*.

² La documentation 'complète' de MM. Bonfante et McKenzie, loin de nous avoir révélé du nouveau, n'a au fond fait que confirmer ce que nous savions, la limitation du supposé *se* = *sic* au désidératif, c'est à dire à un cas qui peut être expliqué d'une autre façon.

plus'? Il sera plus logique, puisque en général *si* = *sic* et *se* = *si* sont aussi nettement distingués en anc.rom. que le sont *ma* et *mai* en italien, d'admettre une conjonction hypothétique quand c'est *se* qui apparaît, et un adverbe fort 'ainsi' là où apparaît *si*. D'autant plus qu'il n'y a pas de difficulté insurmontable à expliquer le type *se Dieus m'aït* par un *se* hypothétique: 'si [il est vrai que je désire que] Dieu m'aide': c'est le subjonctif qui est appelé à traduire l'idée 'je désire que'² (de même en all. *so* [= *wenn*] *Gott mir helfe* sans inversion, absolument parallèle à l'indicatif hypothétique *so Gott lebt*, sans inversion). M. Bonfante ne discute pas la partie de mon travail où j'ai montré que c'est notre parti pris moderne qui nous empêche—mus que nous sommes sans doute par un désir d'éviter le cumul d'idées (dans le cas qui nous occupe, le cumul de l'idée de la subordination de la phrase marquée par *se*, + l'idée du désir exprimé par le subjonctif), c'est à dire, par l'esprit analytique—d'imaginer un désideratif (ou un impératif) dans une incidente (alors que l'anc.fr. a dit couramment *te pri . . . que tu me conseille*—avec *conseille* impératif), et de voir dans le fr.mod. *c'est pourquoi tais-toi*, reste de la construction ancienne, une conjonction pétrifiée *c'est pourquoi* = *donec*; j'ajouterais aujourd'hui 'le type populaire interroman it. *corri che corri!*, esp. *camina*

² Nous voyons dans un des textes plus récents cités par M. Bonfante, à savoir dans celui d'Arioste censé être une imitation de Dante, comment un *se* + subjonctif est interprété et explicité par le poète lui-même dans le sens que je propose:

Se Dio tronchi ogni ala . . . ,
non ti dispiaccia che'l tuo stato intenda;
e se vuoi che di te porti novella
nel mondo su, per satisfarti sono.

Dante n'aurait peut-être pas hésité d'écrire: **s'io di te porti novella* (comme *E se tu mai nel dolce mondo regge* [= *redeas*]).

⁴ Voici encore d'autres cumuls parallèles: Dam.-Pichon II, 422 citent de Parny: 'Adieu tout, *puisqu'adieu l'Amour*' ('adieu l'Amour' est une exclamation dépendant de *puisque*); je trouve dans une lettre adressée à Pour la victoire: 'Vive de Gaulle *pour que vive la France*' (= pour qu'[on puisse espérer que] vive la Fr.); il y a d'ailleurs le même cumul dans *qui vive?*, ce qui a provoqué l'erreur d'interprétation de Jeanroy, *Rom.*, xxxvii, 294, réfutée par Thomas *ib.*, XLIV, 100: *qui vive* est égal à *qui doit vivre* [selon vous]? l'ordre des mots *qui vive?* (pas **vive qui?*) est dû au désir de commencer par le pronom interrogatif, comme c'est la norme, et le subjonctif du désir a toute sa force comme dans notre *se Deus aït*; je note encore dans la *Préface de Cromwell*: 'Nous ne bâtissons pas ici de systèmes, *parce que Dieu nous garde des systèmes*' (il y a un point à la fin de cette phrase, V. Hugo n'ayant pas osé mettre un point d'exclamation dans l'incidente); dans *l'homme que voici* il y a aussi un impératif ou une question (*voi!* ou *vois?* dans l'incidente. Pour l'esp., je note *Don Quijote* II, 20: '*aunque así suceda, ¡oh Sancho!*'—respondió Don Quijote—nunca llegara tu silencio á do ha llegado lo que has hablado' ('bien que [je désire que] cela arrive ainsi').

que camina! 'cours, marche ce que [pas 'ce que tu peux marcher,' mais]—marche! [= tu dois marcher], cf. *RPH.*, iv, 256. Dans ces circonstances, je ne vois pas pourquoi on devrait corriger un *si valeas* de la *Historia Appolonii* du VI^e siècle en un *sic valeas* (attesté dans une inscription pompéienne): puisque nous avons au XII^e siècle un *se Deus t'ait* à côté d'un *si t'ait Deus*, pourquoi ne pas admettre un couple *si valeas* 'si je veux que tu prospères' à côté d'un *sic valeas* 'ainsi puisses-tu prospérer!' au VI^e? Et qui peut affirmer que le *si me Deus adiuvet* du IX^e siècle, que M. Bonfante a réussi à identifier comme traduction d'un a. h. all. *sam mir got helfe*, ne peut absolument pas remonter, malgré le *sam* 'ainsi' du modèle,⁸ à cette même tradition latine vulgaire? Et qui sait enfin si, vu les parallélismes connus entre le latin de Plaute et le latin vulgaire, le *si te di ament* dans Plaute (à côté de *amant* dans quelques mss.) n'est pas l'antécédent de notre construction (latine vulgaire et) romane? Voilà donc par trois fois (dans Plaute, la *Hist. Apoll.*, les *Altdeutsche Gespräche*) que le grammairien moderne corrige le *si* + désideratif (soit en éliminant le subjonctif, soit en remplaçant *si* par *sic*)—qui se retrouve en roman. N'est-ce pas le sort typique de tant de romanismes, qui avaient été méconnus et éliminés dans les textes latins avant l'avènement de M. Löfstedt, qui, lui, en établissant soigneusement une liste de ces prétendues 'aberrations' et en les rattachant au roman, a réussi à élargir considérablement notre connaissance du latin populaire et à établir la continuité avec le roman dans une mesure que nous n'avions pu imaginer? Je fais mienne, en la retournant contre lui, la remarque de M. Bonfante: "We must never forget how incomplete is our knowledge of Vulgar Latin."⁹

LEO SPITZER

⁸ Ainsi, à mon avis, le biblique *sic Dominus sit vobiscum* a été rendu dans la traduction anc.fr. par *se Deus vos ait* (*Rom.*, LXV, 305), c'est à dire par une construction toute différente, mais qui a l'avantage de maintenir minutieusement les mots dans l'ordre du texte-modèle.

⁹ Dans *RPH* vi, 186, M. A. Alonso a exprimé son assentiment à la théorie de M. Bonfante. Selon lui, il faudrait comprendre dans les exemples suivants: *si Dios de mal me guarde* (J. Ruiz, 984), *se Dios me vala* (ms. P de l'*Alexandre*), *si mala rabia vos mate* ('romance de la rota de Roncesvalles') un *si* = *así* (< lat. *sic*), selon la théorie de Bonfante, exactement comme dans les phrases du type *si vos vala el Criador, sim salve Dios* du *Poema*. M. Alonso ne tient donc pas compte non plus de l'observation de M. Foulet sur l'ordre des mots. Il me semble évident que l'inversion dans les derniers cas témoigne pour *si* = *sic*, alors que le manque d'inversion dans la série citée plus haut milite pour *si* = *si* (et le *se* de l'*Alexandre*, forme affaiblie de *si* conjonction, milite en ma faveur). Puisqu'on pouvait dire *el Criador vos vala* (*Poema*), on pouvait préposer *si* conj. hypothétique, sans rien changer à la structure de la phrase: *si Dios me vala* 'si [je désire que] Dieu m'aide.'

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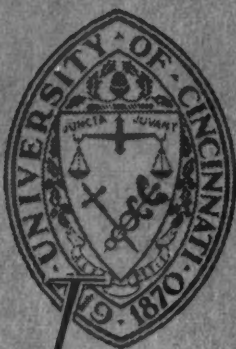
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